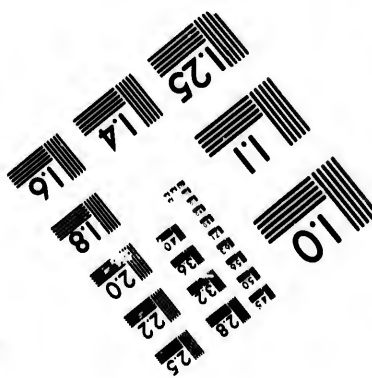
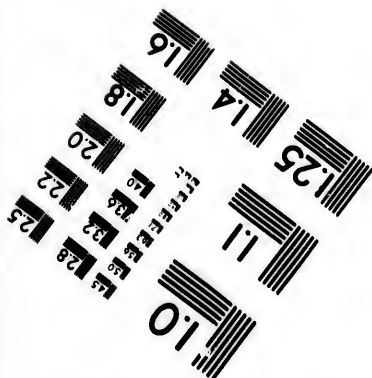
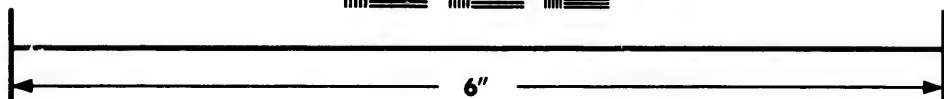
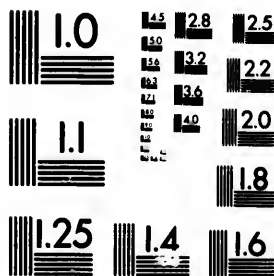


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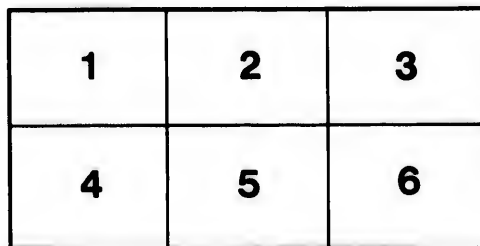
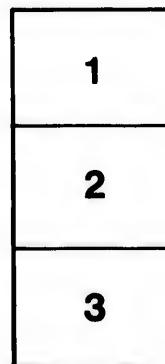
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An Indian and his Squaw.

TRAVELS
THROUGH
LOWER CANADA,
AND THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,
IN THE YEARS
1806, 1807, AND 1808.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of some of the leading Characters in the United States, and of those who have, at various Periods, borne a conspicuous Part in the Politics of that Country.

BY JOHN LAMBERT.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
WITH ENGRAVINGS.
VOL. III.

LONDON:
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TRAVELS,

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CHAPTER XLI.

*Journey from Charleston to Savannah on Foot—
Four Mile House—Ashley River—Rantowle's
Creek—Pine Barrens—Live Oaks—Moss—
Solitary Walk through the Woods—Lose my
Way—Meet a Negro—Arrive at the 23 Mile
House—Tavern-keeper—Anecdote of Mr. C—
—Resume my Journey the next Morning—
Overtake a travelling Negro—Arrive at the
Village of Jacksonborough—Dine there—Get
into the Stage—Fellow Passengers—A French
Traveller—His Opinion of the Americans—
Buonaparte's Death—A new Revolution in
France—Pocotaligo—Coosywhatchie—Arrive
at Purrysburgh—Col. Purry—Indian Tumuli
—Negro Boat Song.*

I HAD remained at Charleston upwards of two months, when I came to the whimsical resolution of taking a journey of 120 miles on foot, to Savan-

2 JOURNEY FROM CHARLESTON TO SAVANNAH.

nah, in Georgia. The weather was fine, though at times rather too warm. The road which I had to travel lay through a dreary and extensive forest of pine trees, or as it is termed by the Carolinians, a *pine barren*, where an habitation is seldom seen, except at intervals of ten or twelve miles.

I should have been glad, could I have procured a companion, but those to whom I proposed the journey, instead of accepting, endeavoured to persuade me from it; and mentioned the lonely and dreary woods through which I must walk so many miles, without, perhaps, meeting a human being. But at that time I was enthusiastically bent on my project. I had even formed, in my own mind, a determination to return from Charleston to New York on foot, though a distance of more than 700 miles; and for this purpose I intended my excursion to Savannah as a kind of preparatory journey, which would inure me to the fatigue of walking so many miles; and at the same time give me an idea of a great portion of the country through which I must pass. With this view, I furnished myself with a light dress, and, as I expected to meet with a friend at Savannah, I did not encumber myself with a supply of linen: I therefore took nothing more than the cloaths I had on, and a stout stick; and, on the 10th of March, about ten in the forenoon, set out from Charleston. I availed myself of the opportunity

of leaving town, the day before the stage, which runs that road twice a week, in order that, if the journey became irksome, or the weather proved indifferent, I might get up and ride.

For the first ten miles out of Charleston, the road is very much cut up by the country wag-gons, and the sand is deep and heavy. I walked to the four-mile house in an hour, though every step I took, the sand was above my ancles. The *Four Mile House* is a large handsome tavern, and much frequented by the inhabitants of Charleston, who ride out there for recreation, in the afternoon, particularly on Sundays. It is chiefly the resort of the middling classes ; the gentry seldom or never visit it. Between the tavern and Charleston, the road is lined with the hedges and fences belonging to several handsome plantations ; the houses are, however, seldom seen, being built a considerable distance back.

From the *four* to the *eight mile house*, the road lies in some places through a wood, in others, by the side of plantations, but the scenery is dull and monotonous ; a few indifferent buildings are all that appear, at long intervals, among the trees. About a mile beyond the *eight mile house*, the road suddenly turns off to the left, towards Ashley ferry, and to the right towards Dorchester and Orangeburgh. The scene that presented itself when I reached this turning on the left, was extremely beautiful, and formed a striking contrast

to the dreary sameness of the wood which I had just passed through. The road descended gradually between a fine grove of trees for about a quarter of a mile, when it suddenly opened into an expansive savannah or rice swamp, upwards of six miles in circumference. Several large plantations and handsome houses, are situated on the border of this extensive plain, and behind them the scene is closed by the surrounding forests. The river Ashley, which runs through this swamp, springs from the cypress and other swamps, towards Monk's Corner, in the lower country, and empties itself into Charleston harbour, at the southern side of the city. Its width opposite Charleston is about 2,100 yards, and its stream narrows but little for several miles; it is navigable for ships a few miles up, and for sloops and schooners to a considerable distance. On the western bank of this river, the first efficient settlement of the state was made, at a place now called *Old Town*, or *Old Charleston*, in 1671, by a small colony sent out under Governor Sayle.

The road across the swamp is well kept up, by large pieces of timber, piles, &c. which raise it several feet higher than the surface of the swamp, though in the spring and fall of the year it is sometimes overflowed. The soil was of a dark brown loam, and apparently very rich. A considerable part was drained off for working, but

the remainder was covered with long grass, flags, and reeds.

Having passed the river in a flat-bottomed scow secured by a rope stretched from shore to shore, I went into the ferry-house, which is also a small tavern. It was then near one o'clock, and I would willingly have taken some refreshment, had not the landlord assured me that he had not a morsel of bread in the house; I however procured a glass of brandy and water, and immediately proceeded on my journey. I struck into a thick *pine barren* which lay before me, and through which a narrow road was cut. The soil was of a light sandy nature, and the smooth and even road, so different from that over which I had passed, plainly denoted how little it was disturbed by wag-gons, or carriages of any description; and shewed, that the farther I went, the more solitary and lonely I should find my journey. Indeed, the whole of the road from Ashley ferry to Savannah river, a distance of 90 miles, is scarcely ever traversed by any other vehicle than the stage-coach, or occasionally the carriage of a planter.

I arrived about half past two at Rantowle's Creek, a distance of 16 miles from Charleston. This creek is a branch of the Stone River, and runs through an immense swamp. It has a pleasing effect after being shut up for several miles in a thick forest, to emerge all at once into a broad open space, covered only with grass or reeds; the

eye is thus agreeably relieved from the dull sameness of the pine grove. I went into a tavern which stands near the creek, to see what I could obtain for dinner : I soon found that the larder was not very plentifully supplied, but after a little search, a wild duck was procured and dressed ; this, with a bottle of London porter, afforded me a much better repast than I expected to meet with in such a solitary place.

About half past three, I again set forward on my route, and, before I had gone a quarter of a mile, was clear of the swamp, and once more under the shade of the lofty pine trees. The day was uncommonly fine, and though the sun was very powerful, I suffered but little inconvenience from it, as the pine-trees afforded me an excellent shelter ; they, in fact, formed one continual grove as far as the eye could reach. The road was narrow, and nearly as level as a bowling green ; the soil varied in different places, but in general it was a light sandy earth, and free from stones. I had now fairly entered the *pine barrens*, and never felt myself more disposed for gloomy reflections, than while passing through these lonely wildernesses. A habitation is seldom seen, except at intervals of ten or twelve miles, or when you approach a savannah or swamp, for the plantations are all settled a considerable distance from the road, and paths of communication are cut through the woods ; so that, in travelling

through the southern states; you are enveloped in almost one continued forest. A contrary practice is adopted in the northern and middle states; where a succession of farms, meadows, gardens, and habitations, continually meet the eye of the traveller; and if hedges were substituted for rail fences, those states would very much resemble some of the English counties.

The pine barrens are without any stones on their surface, for eighty miles or more from the sea. The land rises by an almost imperceptible ascent to that distance; where the elevation is said to be near two hundred feet above the level of the ocean, and forms the boundary between the middle and lower parts of the state. Through this tract of country the pine barrens have little or no underwood, some species of shrub oak excepted, the ground being generally covered with coarse wild grasses. This is probably not its natural appearance, but is caused by the custom of burning the dry grass in the spring, in order to hasten early pasturage, at the same time destroying the young shrubs which would otherwise shoot up, and form a thick underwood between the pines. From this practice, the forests frequently exhibit on each side the road, a dismal appearance from the great number of trees half burnt and scorched, and blacked by the fire; others lying on the ground, or ready to fall with the first high wind; and, in several places, it is rather

FLOWERS.

hazardous travelling in stormy weather. Almost every week the driver of the stage coach has to cut away large trunks or branches that have fallen across the road, or if there is an opening sufficiently wide among the trees, he chooses rather to go round than trouble himself to use his axe.

The pines are chiefly of the pitch and yellow species, and grow to the height of 100 feet and more, with a handsome straight stem, two thirds of which, upwards, are free from branches. They make excellent masts and timber for vessels, and yield abundance of pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine. The stumps of several, which had been cut down, were covered with the resinous matter that had been extracted from the top by the heat of the sun. Where the soil improves, which is sometimes the case, even in the midst of these barrens, the eye is relieved from the monotonous solemnity of the lofty pine, by a variety of other trees, consisting principally of live oak; red, white, and chesnut oaks; hickory, elm, beech, maple, &c. and numerous shrubs, plants, and flowers. In several places, natural hedges are formed of the shrubs and underwood that escape the ravages of fire; these are intermingled with a variety of flowers, among which the honey suckles, woodbines, and yellow jasmines, are most conspicuous. When I passed, they were in full blossom, and the

flowers at once pleased the eye, and impregnated the air with their delightful odours.

The Carolina live oak is interspersed among the pines in different parts of the country, and particularly along the road. This tree is an evergreen, and bears a small leaf resembling the myrtle. It is the most durable oak in the country, and almost as heavy as *lignum vitæ*. Its parts have also such adhesion, that it will not split, and a nail once driven into it, is with difficulty extracted. Its trunk is short, sometimes six or seven feet in diameter, and its large crooked branches will frequently spread over near half an acre of ground: it is much used in ship-building. Besides this, Carolina possesses upwards of twenty other species of oak. Upon the live oak there grows a remarkable long moss, of a light grey colour, which blossoms in May. This moss adheres also to several of the pine-trees in the vicinity of the live oaks, but is more particularly attached to the latter. To my eye, it had a very disagreeable effect, as it resembled a quantity of loose tow that had clung to the trees, and encumbered their branches; many persons, however, think that it gives the forests of the new world a venerable aspect. The branches of several trees, from which this moss was suspended in great quantities, were destitute of leaves, and appeared in a decayed state. I have not been able to ascertain whether this was occasioned by the moss, but

there was every appearance of it. This moss is a native only of low, flat, and marshy soils, and in South Carolina is not found beyond the falls of the rivers ; several attempts have been made to propagate it in the upper country, but without success. It grows abundantly in the forests of Louisiana. The inhabitants of Carolina fill their mattresses, beds, and pillows with it ; and, in hard winters, it often affords an excellent food for the cattle.

As I proceeded on my journey, the pine-trees, which have their branches towards their summits, formed a complete grove over my head, and almost excluded the sky from my view : in the morning this shady walk was extremely pleasant, but as the day began to close, I would willingly have preferred a less gloomy retreat. Every step I took was still the same, and nothing disturbed the solemn silence of the forest, save the whistling murmurs of the wind ; the skipping of a few deer across the road ; and the rustling of the black snakes amid the grass and fallen branches of the trees. Now and then, indeed, the crash of an enormous pine tree, tumbling to the earth, would ruffle the still monotony that prevailed, and arouse me from a reverie of thought into which I had fallen, as I pensively measured my steps through the gloomy wilderness ; but the sound, after reverberating for a few seconds, died away in

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distant murmurs through the woods, and all was again silent.

Since leaving Rantowle's Creek, I had neither met a single human being, nor caught the least glimpse of an habitation ; not even the welcome sound of the negro's axe ever came to delight my ear and cheer my spirits ; and though I continued to advance mile after mile, yet no termination appeared to the road, nor did any other branch off from it ; all was one straight, even path, and I had no other alternative but to proceed in a direct line, or turn back. The sun was just going down, heavy dews were beginning to rise, and all around was awfully solemn. I had thus proceeded till near six o'clock, expecting every moment to reach the 23 mile house, where I meant to take up my abode for the night, when I came to a place where the road branched off in two directions. There was no finger-post to direct me which to take, nor was there a human being at hand to whom I could apply for information. It was nearly dusk, and I had no time to hesitate ; so at hazard I took the road which turned off to the left. This road exactly resembled that over which I had passed so many miles, but neither house nor plantation appeared in sight, though from the remarkable evenness of the road, I could see a very considerable distance ; the prospect, however, was terminated only by the tall pine trees. After walking about half an hour, without

coming up to the tavern, as I expected, I began to hesitate about going any further, for I knew not whither the road led, as it was not laid down in the map of South Carolina, which I had with me. I felt extremely tired, and I believe the anxiety I suffered at the uncertainty of my situation, contributed not a little to heighten my fatigue. I however determined to proceed, and consoled myself with the idea, that the road was not made without an object, and must therefore lead to some plantation or village. The prospect of having to pass the night in the woods, made me quicken my steps, though every step I took was a painful exertion.

I had continued my hasty strides for about a mile, when, at a considerable distance, I perceived a negro, with a couple of horses, coming towards me. This was a welcome sight : I immediately hastened to meet him, and on his coming up, inquired whether I was in the right road for the 23 mile house. To my infinite mortification and disappointment he replied, that I should have taken the other, and that if I had continued the way I was going, I should not have seen a house for sixteen miles. I had now no other resource but to return back about four miles, and therefore requested the negro to let me ride his master's horse, with which he was returning home ; this he consented to, and I very gladly jumped upon his back. As we rode along

he shewed me the place where he should turn off, after he had set me down at the end of the road. I was not surprized that I had never discerned this opening in the forest, so completely was the spot enveloped by trees; nor was there any path, from which a stranger could suspect that he was in the neighbourhood of a large plantation. The forests of Carolina, are very different to those of the northward; for, instead of being covered with shrubs and underwood, the ground is generally clear, and the openings are sometimes large enough, between the trees, to admit of horses, and even waggons to pass through the forest, except where they may be encumbered with the decayed trunks and fallen branches of trees. The Carolinians are very expert at hunting deer on horseback; and proceed through these woods with great velocity and dexterity. They are likewise so well acquainted with the country, that they never lose themselves, but travel from plantation to plantation, through many parts, in which a stranger would be completely bewildered.

Having arrived at the end of the road, I dismounted, gave the friendly negro a shilling for his civility, and set forward, with hasty steps, for the twenty-three mile house; where I arrived between seven and eight o'clock. By this time, the day was completely closed, and the moon, which was nearly at the full, was just rising. I

was heartily rejoiced when I entered the house, and sat down to rest my weary limbs, for I was unaccustomed to pedestrian journeys; and had walked upwards of twenty-seven miles since ten o'clock, four of which, were in the *wrong* road. It was a fortunate circumstance that I had not undertaken my journey a week before, as I should have been disappointed of a night's lodging at this house; the family who now occupied it, having been in only five days, previous to which, it had stood empty above a fortnight.

The twenty-three mile house can scarcely be called a tavern, as the few travellers who frequent this road seldom or never stop there; but a change of horses is kept in an adjoining stable for the stage coach. I found my host to be a very intelligent friendly man; he received me very cordially, and promised me the best entertainment his house afforded. His wife immediately got tea ready, and fried some eggs and bacon as an accompaniment, which she performed tolerably well, with two or three children squalling at her heels. The building, which was constructed of logs, consisted of four rooms on one floor; and the interstices between the logs not being filled up with clay, or moss, the evening dew, and the light of the moon, found a ready admittance into our apartment: we, however, had a cheerful fire, and I considered myself extremely fortunate in getting under cover.

After tea, or rather supper, my host, who appeared somewhat above the ordinary cast of tavern-keepers, entertained me with an account of himself, and the motives which led him to take that house. He told me that he was a native of Guernsey, which island he had left about fourteen years ago to settle in America, where, he flattered himself, like many others, with the idea of making a rapid fortune, and returning home again. When he arrived at Charleston, he was worth about 1500*l*. but he confessed, with much regret, that he was not now worth so many dollars. Though he had letters to a very respectable family, who did all they could to serve him, yet he was unfortunate in his speculations; and finding the land of that nature, that it could not be worked without a large capital, and living being very expensive he became an overseer on a plantation. The last planter he lived with was Mr. R—— S——h, who resided some distance off, and with whom he had been upwards of three years. During that time, he had acquired a couple of negroes of his own, who worked occasionally for Mr. S——h; but that gentleman, at length, refusing to give them the same allowance of corn as his own slaves, he had left his service within the last five days, and taken the twenty-three mile house, till he could get into the employ of another planter.

This man gave me a melancholy account of

the ravages which the fever and ague make upon the constitutions of the white people settled in these parts of the country, every summer and autumn. He and his family were always attacked with those disorders, which were more or less severe, according to the temperature of the seasons. The lower class of people are also accustomed to live so much upon dried salted meat and fish, that with the attacks of the fever and ague, their countenances assume a pale sallow hue, and their bodies are often reduced to mere skeletons. If the white people can recover from these repeated attacks upon their health, they may stand a chance of realizing considerable property; and he informed me that several of the present rich planters of South Carolina, were formerly overseers.

He told me of a young gentleman, the son of a respectable French family in Charleston, who, fired with enthusiasm in the cause of the French revolution, would not rest till he had entered the French army; which was then fighting on the frontiers of the kingdom, against the combined powers of the continent. For this purpose, and contrary to the wishes of his parents, he went to Guernsey; there he became acquainted with my informant, at whose house he resided, till a convenient opportunity offered for him to reach the French coast. In the mean time he was apprehended by the governor, and sent to England on

suspicion of being a French spy. He, however, contrived to make his escape, and went back again to his friend in Guernsey, who concealed him in his house upwards of six weeks, disguised in women's cloaths. At length, having purchased an open boat, they both embarked in the night, and went over to the coast of France. The young man immediately joined the French army on the frontiers, and was killed about six months afterwards. He had given my host letters to his friends in Charleston, and from the representations he gave of America, the former was induced to emigrate to that country: in 1794 he arrived at Charleston. The young man's friends received him with much attention, and did every thing in their power to forward his views, but without success.

I retired to rest about 10 o'clock, but did not lay very comfortably, as the camp bedstead, which had been placed in the room for my accommodation, was unfortunately half a leg too short. It was, however, so much superior to a night's lodging in a tree, which I had narrowly escaped, that I should have been ungrateful to have complained of my situation.

The next morning I arose at six, and having breakfasted, again set forward on my journey: it was a beautiful morning, and I felt the want of nothing but a pleasant companion, to whom I might communicate my thoughts; without

this, travelling is dreary and melancholy, even in the best cultivated parts of America: but with a fellow traveller, I should have no objection to *walk* from one end of the union to the other: from Brewster's in Maine, to St. Mary's in Georgia; from the shores of Philadelphia, to the Banks of the Ohio.

After walking two or three miles, I came to a large plantation. Here the negroes were employed in hoeing the earth, clearing the neighbouring forests, and carrying the wood upon their heads to different parts, for the purpose of fencing in the grounds; men, women, and children, were all busily engaged, under the superintendence of an overseer. The house, which was but indifferent, stood a considerable distance from the road. I saw no cattle or poultry of any description; indeed, a plantation has very rarely the comfortable appearance of a farm.

A little farther, I overtook a negro with a basket on his head, returning to Ashepoo from Charleston, where he had been to dispose of some poultry and game. I had passed this negro yesterday, just after quitting Charleston, and at the time I lost my way he most probably passed along the other road, as he slept at the plantation, just beyond the twenty-three mile house. This man told me, that he generally went twice a week from Ashepoo to Charleston, a distance of fifty miles, with poultry and game, to sell at

market for his master, who was a planter. He brought back whatever the family wanted from the city; and he always made these journeys on foot, without shoe or stocking. He was a very civil fellow, and I found his company by no means despicable in the midst of a dreary pine barren. He was about forty years old, and a native of the country. He seemed happy and contented with his situation, and perfectly resigned to his destiny.

The scene along this road was very little different to that of yesterday; but I was oftener saluted with the sound of the woodman's axe, though frequently at a considerable distance. A great number of red and blue birds, about the size of a thrush, appeared among the trees, and enlivened the woods with their gay plumage and cheerful notes. I saw few other birds, the season being rather too early for the appearance of that variety, with which this state abounds.

About 12 o'clock I arrived at Jacksonborough, having passed the Edisto river in a ferry-boat, within a quarter of a mile of the village. At this river, as well as at Rantowle's creek, there are bridges, but both are damaged by the freshes, or high tides, which take place in the spring of the year. The Edisto is shallow, and incapable of being navigated far up its stream, by boats of heavy burthen. In a full river, the navigation of its northern branch is open as far as Orange-

burgh; and its southern branch is also navigable some miles, until it is interrupted by many islands and shoals, which, at one place, are thickly scattered in the river. When the river is low, it is fordable at Parker's ferry, about thirty-five miles from the sea; and during the revolutionary war, field pieces were dragged across its channel in that place. This river takes its rise in the middle country from the ridge of highland, which lies between the Congaree and Savannah rivers.

Jacksonborough is a small village, containing about twenty or thirty houses. It was much larger; but a fire, some years ago, destroyed several buildings, and they have not since been rebuilt. The houses have small pieces of ground, and gardens attached to them; but very little land is cleared in the vicinity of the place. In 1782, when Charleston was in the hands of the British troops, the different branches of the state government were convened here; and in this place, the acts of confiscation and banishment were passed against citizens of the state, who were unfriendly to the American revolution.

I stopped at the only tavern in the village, and shortly after, the stage coach from Charleston, came up to the door: the passengers alighted, and staid here to dine; I followed their example; and when the stage was ready to depart, I got in with them, intending only to go as far as

Pocotaligo, about thirty miles from Jacksonborough, where we should put up for the night. I was the more inclined to this, as I should start fresh the next morning, after resting a considerable time, from the fatigues of the preceding days.

The passengers in the stage, were an American lady, and two children; two Frenchmen, and two Americans. The coach was the same kind as those used in the northern states, open in front, and with leather curtains let down at the back and sides. As there were nine of us, including the driver, who sat on the front seat, the coach was pretty well filled. After travelling a few miles, I found my thin dress was too cool for riding, particularly as the weather became cloudy, and threatened to rain. Unfortunately I had not scrambled like the rest to get a birth on one of the back seats, by which I might have been sheltered from the cold breeze, which now began to spring up. I was therefore obliged to sit in front; and though the rest were all muffled up in thick great coats, not one of them had the politeness to offer to change places with me. However, I was determined, when we alighted, that my civility should not prevent me, as it had done at Jacksonborough, from procuring a more comfortable seat. About a mile from Jacksonborough, there is a small church, the first I had seen since leaving Charleston: it is situated in a

small burying ground, in a retired and romantic spot, amidst the forest. It serves the inhabitants for many miles round, as a place of worship ; but I know not to what sect it belongs.

One of the French gentlemen had lately arrived from Bourdeaux, and the other from Martinique. As there was but little general conversation, the Americans were not very loquacious ; and the Frenchmen conversed mostly by themselves. I understood sufficient of the French language to comprehend the nature of their discourse, and frequently joined them. Their conversation, which was chiefly on American subjects, and politics, was highly amusing to me. The one from Bourdeaux, I found, was a traveller ; but I could not learn his name, though I had some reason to believe, that he was the celebrated naturalist Michaud ; who, as well as his father, has travelled much over the American states. I recollected his face at New York, and soon learnt that he had arrived there from Bourdeaux in 1807. He had travelled from New York to Charleston, by land, within the last three weeks. He made several observations upon the Americans, and complained much of the rudeness of the lower orders of the people. " The liberty of the Americans," says he, " degenerates into impertinence ; theirs is not the liberty of the soul, but its insolence. The driver sat down to the same table with us at dinner ; this he would not have

dared to do, had he known his company to be persons of distinction or rich planters. The rich, therefore, in this land of *liberty* are relieved from the insolence of the lower orders, but strangers and the middling classes, are obliged to suffer." This practice of the driver taking his meals at the same table with his passengers, I never met with, except in South Carolina and Georgia. In the northern states I was always treated with the greatest civility by the stage coachmen, who seldom or never came into the same room as the passengers, much less sat down to dinner with them. It was, however, curious enough to hear a Frenchman, who might naturally be supposed to have fraternized for the last seventeen years with the lowest dregs of his own countrymen, complaining of the rudeness and brutality of the common people in America towards gentlemen. From some observations which afterwards fell from him, it appeared, that, though partial to the revolution, he was no friend to the existing government of France.

He spoke severely against the despotism of Buonaparte, who he said had trampled upon the liberties of his country, and deceived the people by the false glare of martial achievements. "Into what a deplorable state of anarchy and confusion," says he, "will our unfortunate country be thrown, when that tyrant dies. It will be torn to pieces by his relations and generals, all of whom

will think they have an equal right to govern. The people will not know who to trust, or in whom to confide their liberties. The nation will be convulsed to the centre; the reign of terror will again commence, and hosts of external foes will attempt to wrest from France the countries which the present chief has so unjustly acquired; and, when once success has emboldened them, who shall say where they will stop. Then will they indeed retaliate upon unfortunate France the evils which her revolution, like the opening of Pandora's box, has spread over the face of the globe. I hope," continues he, "for the sake of my country, that I may prove a bad prophet; but, when Buonaparte is no more, I cannot see how, or in what manner, such a state of things can be avoided. At present, he is the life and soul of every thing around him; the pivot upon which all things move; the great corner stone of the gigantic fabric, which he has raised to immortalize his name. Take him away, and the whole building must inevitably tumble into one undistinguished mass of ruins."

I could not help admiring the justness of his remarks; and, if we look into the history of nations, we shall find, that events, such as he predicts, have generally followed the ambitious aggrandizement of those individuals, who have trampled upon the liberties of mankind, for

the purpose of immortalizing themselves as heroes and demi-gods.

The French gentleman declared, that the English government was the best in the world. It was, indeed, at times, liable to be abused, but the spirit of the people, originating from the nature of their constitution, would never suffer it to enslave them, or materially injure their liberties. The American government, he said, wanted stability; it depended too much upon the will of the mob; but next to the English government, he preferred it to any other. When settled, he intended to reside in England, until France should be restored to her legitimate form of government; at present, he said, all countries were alike to him, who was a traveller.

The other gentleman formerly resided in Martinique, but for several years past had settled in Georgia, as a planter. He was now returning home from a visit which he had made to that island upon some mercantile concerns: and, from what I could learn of his sentiments, he was strongly attached to the American government.

We arrived at Pocotaligo about 9 o'clock, and stopped at a miserable post-house or tavern. The stage from Savannah had arrived two or three hours before us, and there being several passengers in it, all the beds were occupied, and most of the provisions consumed. We were therefore obliged to proceed on to Coosywhatchie, about

six miles further, where we procured accommodations for the night. The mail bag, which is carried by the stage, is opened at Pocotaligo, and the letters sorted for the post-office at Coosywhatchie. The coaches also meet at the former place, and receive each other's passengers.

Coosywhatchie is a small village, 73 miles from Charleston, containing a tavern, a post-office, two or three stores, and a few farm houses. The place retains its ancient name from a nation of Coosah Indians, who formerly resided on the spot. It is in the neighbourhood of a small river, navigable for vessels of light burthen, and several rich planters reside within the circumference of a few miles, in the vicinity of this village.

Unfortunately for the continuation of my pedestrian excursion, the weather next morning appeared extremely unfavourable. The sky was lowering, and large black clouds, surcharged with their fluid matter, seemed ready to burst every moment over our heads. As I had no inclination for a romantic tour through the woods, on foot, during a thunder-storm or violent hurricane, which are very common in this country, I thought it more advisable to proceed in the coach. I accordingly took care to secure a more comfortable seat than fell to my lot the day before, and at seven o'clock we left Coosywhatchie.

About a mile from the village we once more

more entered the pine barrens, but the sameness of the road was at times relieved by an open swamp, in the neighbourhood of a small stream: and in those places we generally saw a few plantations, and now and then a handsome house. The wooden bridges over the small rivers were very dangerous, being composed only of a few loose planks, with openings wide enough for a horse's leg to slip through; we however met with no accident, and the road in general was uncommonly good. A number of deer, which had been started, most probably, by hunters in the forest, bounded across the road in several places, as we passed along. The storm which appeared likely to have descended upon us in the early part of the morning, now dissolved into small mizzling rain; and on our arrival at Purrysburgh at one o'clock, it increased to a heavy shower. The weather also became unpleasantly cold, and we were happy to get by the side of a good fire to warm ourselves.

The house where we stopped to dine, belonged to the driver of the coach, and his wife had every thing ready for us upwards of two hours before our arrival. Purrysburgh is a paltry village, situated near the banks of the Savannah river, about 97 miles from Charleston, and 25 from the town of Savannah. It contains scarcely a dozen houses, and they are occupied by the poorer sort of people. The tumuli of an Indian nation, which formerly

resided here, are still visible, and carefully preserved by the inhabitants. Purrysburgh was originally a place of some note, from a colony of Swiss, which was established there for the purpose of cultivating silk and vineyards. It was named after Colonel John Peter Purry, a Swiss officer, who effected the settlement under the British government about eighty years ago. At one time a considerable quantity of silk was raised in South Carolina and Georgia, but it has since given place to the more lucrative productions of cotton and rice. The soil and climate are allowed to be well adapted to the raising of silk. Mulberry trees grow spontaneously in various places, and native silk worms, producing well formed cocoons, are often found in the woods.

The stage coach proceeds no farther than Purrysburgh, a boat being provided to carry the mail and passengers down the river to Savannah, a distance of 25 miles. The state pays 1500 dollars per annum for the carriage of the mail, so that the comfort of passengers is often less regarded by the proprietors, than the bag of letters. It happened unluckily for me, there were so many passengers, and so much baggage, that the usual covered boat was too small to hold us, and the conductor of the mail was obliged to procure a large canoe, but without any awning or shelter whatever. This was no very agreeable conveyance for twenty-five miles in rainy weather, and I was

in doubt whether to go with them, or stay for a more favorable opportunity ; but, having borrowed a great coat from the boatman, I embarked with the rest.

We started from Purrysburgh about two o'clock and were rowed by four negroes, for canoes are not paddled here as in Canada. They seemed to be jolly fellows, and rowed lustily to a boat-song of their own composing. The words were given out by one of them, and the rest joined chorons at the end of every line. It began in the following manner :

	CHORUS.
" We are going down to Georgia, boys,	Aye, aye,
To see the pretty girls, boys ;	Yoe, yoe.
We'll give 'em a pint of brandy, boys,	Aye, aye.
And a hearty kiss besides, boys.	Yoe, yoe.
&c. &c. &c.	

The tune of this ditty was rather monotonous, but had a pleasing effect, as they kept time with it, at every stroke of their oars. The words were mere nonsense ; any thing, in fact, which came into their heads. I however remarked, that brandy was very frequently mentioned, and it was understood as a hint to the passengers to give them a dram. We had supplied ourselves with this article at Purrysburgh, and were not sparing of it to the negroes, in order to encourage them to row quick. During the passage it rained incessantly, and prevented me from seeing the river

to advantage. By the time we arrived at Savannah it was nearly dark, and our rowers, who were pretty far gone, in consequence of their frequent libations of brandy, had nearly upset the canoe, under the cable of a ship which was lying off the town. At length we all landed in safety near the Exchange ; and, in company with one of the American gentlemen, I proceeded immediately to Colonel Shelman's hotel.

CHAPTER XLII.

Savannah—Col. Shelman's Hotel—Yazoo Bubble—Character of the Georgians—Settlement of Georgia—Augusta—St. Mary's—Town of Savannah—Houses—Streets—Pride of India—Promenade—The Exchange—Assembly-Room—Population of Savannah—Burying-Ground. Hurricane of 1806—Arts and Sciences—Military Force—Religion—American Fanaticism—Camp Meetings—Blasphemous Scenes—Midnight Orgies in the Forest, compared with the gentle and sublime Conduct of the Redeemer—Mild Doctrines of Christianity—The Christian Religion, a Religion of Charity and Benevolence to all the World.

THE hotel of Colonel Shelman affords better accommodation than any other house of the kind in Savannah; but there are two or three genteel boarding-houses for those who prefer living in private. The Colonel received me very politely, but I had scarcely sat down, when he entered upon politics, condemned the embargo, which he declared would ruin him and his family, and deprecated the conduct of Mr. Jefferson and the government. At first I was cautious how I en-

tered into conversation with him, for I had frequently met with democrats, who threw out a few words to sound the sentiments of people, and if they did not happen to coincide with their principles, would abuse them unmercifully. But happening to espy a portrait of General Washington in the room, my doubts ceased, and upon a little conversation with him, I found that he was a staunch federalist. He had formerly been a Colonel in the continental army, under Washington; and, like all the old officers of that army, was firmly attached to the political principles of his great leader.

He had resided several years in the back country as a planter, but had lately come to Savannah to try his success in a tavern. The house which he took, not being large enough, he built another close to it. This he has fitted up with *separate* sleeping rooms, which are very seldom met with in the taverns of this part of the country. A large hall below serves as a refectory, and at eight o'clock we sat down in this room to supper. There were upwards of twenty gentlemen present, some of whom lodged in the house, and others who merely took their meals there; the latter were principally clerks in the state bank and other offices. Here I met with several gentlemen, who had come to Savannah to collect in the outstanding debts, which were owing to them when in business several years past. Among the

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rest was Mr. M'C—, the old gentleman whom I before mentioned speculated so unfortunately in his courtship with Mrs. S. of Charleston. He resides in England, but occasionally takes a voyage to America to recover his property. He, as well as the other gentlemen, complained much of the backwardness of the planters of Carolina, and Georgia, in paying their debts; and though they had put the accounts into lawyers' hands, the money came in very slowly. They complained greatly of the embargo, which had increased the difficulty of recovering their debts, particularly since the judges of the courts of law in Georgia, had put a stop, for a certain period, to the levying of executions in that state.

If the statements of several persons with whom I conversed while I remained at Colonel Shelman's, are to be credited, the people of Georgia are indolent and dissipated; not very scrupulous as to their moral character; fond of money to excess, but careless by what means it is obtained. Even, in a public capacity, they will frequently resort to means not the most honourable, as was the case in the Yazoo Bubble, which will be an everlasting stain upon the character of their government. In the year 1795 the state of Georgia, under the great seal, and signed by Governor Matthews, granted and sold to certain individuals, associated in companies, by the title of the "Georgia Company." "Georgia Mississippi Company," and the

"Tennessee Company," a vast tract of land lying within the limits of Georgia, for the consideration of a sum of money to be paid into the treasury of that state. Many individuals purchased lands from the different companies, at a great price, and settlements were rapidly taking place, when the whole scheme was at once blown to atoms. The purchase-money had scarcely been paid into the treasury by the respective companies, when Governor Matthews quitted his office, and was succeeded by a man of the name of Jackson, remarkable for his violent antipathy to the federal party, and all their measures. No sooner was he established in his government, than he caused a bill to pass the legislature, declaring the sale of the Yazoo lands illegal and void. He next seized the records, and burnt them before the court-house in the presence of a majority of the assembly, who applauded the action. In vain did the purchasers and every honest man remonstrate against such an infamous proceeding, but neither money nor land could they obtain. The state of Georgia afterwards made over the lands to the United States, leaving it to the general government to satisfy the claims of the creditors. But though it is now fourteen years since this nefarious transaction took place, their claims yet remain unliquidated, and even opposed by a majority of the house of representatives.

The Georgians are said to be great economists ;

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that is to say, they hate to part with their money, even for the most useful purposes. In the house of assembly, a member who aims at popularity, has only to oppose all public works and improvements that are likely to take the money out of the pockets of the people, and he is sure to gain his end. The planters are poor and miserable when living on their plantations, though perhaps possessed of immense landed property. They have less of the free and generous extravagance of the Carolinian planters, though, like them, they are always in debt, and every one complains of the difficulty of getting money from them. Horse-jockeying and racing are favorite amusements with the people, and they do not scruple to bet high on those occasions. Upon the whole, they possess all the bad, but very few of the good qualities of their Carolinian neighbours. Gouging, and other unfair fighting is, however, equally practised in both places, and individuals of each, will frequently *pluck out an eye, or bite off a nose*, for the honour of their respective states.

The raising of silk and the planting of vines, were the principal objects of the first settlers in Georgia; and, though it appears that the soil and climate are congenial to both these articles, yet the colony remained poor till the introduction of rice and cotton, which are now its staple commodities.

The country was settled in 1733 by General

Oglethorpe, who conducted the first colonists in person. They fixed upon a large plain on the banks of the Savannah river, about ten miles from the sea, for the building of a town. This settlement, now the town of Savannah, at first consisted of no more than 100 persons, but before the end of the year the number had increased to upwards of 600. In 1735 the population of Georgia was increased by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders. Their natural courage induced them to accept of some lands that were offered them on the southern frontier, near the river Altamaha, in order to form an establishment that might prove a defence to the colony, when necessary, against the attacks of the Spaniards in Florida. There they built the towns of New Inverness and Frederica, and several of their countrymen went over and settled among them. A number of German protestants, driven out of Saltzburg, by the intemperate zeal of a fanatical priest, also embarked for Georgia about the same time, in order to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled in the neighbourhood of the capital, but afterwards judging it proper to be at a greater distance, they built the town of Ebenezer.

In these four settlements, some people were found more inclined to trade than agriculture; they therefore separated from the rest, in order to build the city of Augusta, on the banks of the Savannah, about 236 miles distant from the sea.

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The neighbouring territory is fertile in an extraordinary degree; but though that circumstance adds to the convenience of the settlers, it was not the motive which induced them to fix upon this situation; the convenience of trading with the Indians led them to fix here, and their project was so successful, that as early as 1739, six hundred people were employed in that trade only. Augusta is now a populous city, and the seat of government in Georgia; and though the traffic in furs is now no longer of any importance, yet Augusta is the medium of a very extensive trade between the upper and lower parts of the state. Scows, carrying each 500 bags of cotton, besides numerous barges and sloops, are continually passing between Augusta and Savannah; at which latter place the productions of the interior are shipped for every quarter of the globe. Augusta contains about 4000 inhabitants, several handsome houses, churches, and stores. The town is regularly laid out, and is in many respects, superior to Savannah. Three newspapers are published there in the course of the week.

St. Mary's is the frontier town of Georgia, on the confines of Florida, about 95 miles from Savannah. It is a small town, of no great importance, otherwise than as a receptacle for imposition, and worthless characters. Smuggling and shuffling tricks are carried on here with success; at present it is the medium for evading the em-

bargo laws. It is separated from Florida only by the St. Mary's river. Vessels arrive here from the northern states, and run their cargoes in small boats across to the Spanish coast, from whence they are shipped to the West Indies. I met with several persons at Colonel Shelman's, who were going to St. Mary's on these mercantile speculations. The road from Savannah to St. Mary's is very indifferent, and the stage goes no farther than Darien; from thence the mail and passengers proceed in a canoe, for upwards of forty miles coastwise, between the numerous islands and the sea. In the spring of 1808 the mail boat was lost in this passage; and two monks, who happened to be passengers in it, were drowned.

The town of Savannah is built upon an open, sandy plain, which forms a cliff, or as the Americans term it, a *Bluff*, by the shore, about 50 feet above the level of the river. It is well laid out for a warm climate, in the form of a parallelogram, about a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide. The streets are wide, and open into spacious squares, each of which has a pump in the centre, surrounded by a small plantation of trees. A great disadvantage, however, to the town, is the total want of foot-paths and pavement. Improvements of this nature would render walking more agreeable, and the town more cool and healthy. At present, one sinks at every step, up to the ancles in sand; and, in windy weather, the

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eyes, mouth, and nostrils, are filled with it. The magistrates are charged with neglect for not paving and improving the town ; but, *economy* is their *foible*.

The houses are mostly built of wood, and stand separate from each other, divided by court yards, except in two or three streets, where they are close built, many of them with brick, and contain several shops and stores. One large range of brick buildings stands near the market-place, and at a distance, has the appearance of an hospital. It is the property of one person, who built it on a speculation. It is divided into distinct houses, the ground-floor being appropriated to retail stores, and the upper apartments to private lodgings. But the principal street is that called the Bay, where there are several very good houses of brick and wood. Some contain booksellers', grocers', and drapers' stores, others are private dwellings. This range of buildings extends nearly three quarters of a mile along the town ; and opposite to it is a beautiful walk or mall, planted with a double row of trees, the same as those at Charleston, (*Melia Azedarach*, or *Pride of India*). These trees are also planted in different parts of the town, but I cannot persuade myself that they are friendly to the health of the inhabitants. The shade of their thick foliage, however, forms an agreeable relief from the scorching beams of the sun, and they never engender, or harbour any

noxious insects upon their branches, which are advantages that have brought them into repute both in Charleston and Savannah.

This agreeable promenade is situated near the margin of the height or bluff, upon which the town stands ; and the merchants' stores, warehouses, and wharfs, for landing, housing, and shipping of goods, are built immediately below, along the shore, forming, in some degree, a sort of lower town. From the height there is a fine commanding view of the Savannah river as far as the sea, and for several miles above the town. The river is intersected by several extensive swamp islands, which divide it into different channels. They have been converted into excellent rice grounds, as they lie very low, and are easily inundated at the proper seasons, which the culture of that grain requires. The negroes employed in that work live on the islands, in small wooden huts, exposed to the night dews and exhalations from the marshy soil, surrounded also by frequent fogs off the water. The continual moisture and dampness in which they live, would kill a white man in a few months. In the first settlement of the colony, negroes were prohibited to the settlers, but they now nearly equal the white population.

About the centre of the walk, and just on the verge of the cliff, stands the Exchange, a large brick building, which contains some public

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offices; and an assembly-room, where a concert and ball are held once a fortnight, during the winter. I went up to the top of this building, upon which there is a steeple, and had a very extensive panorama view of the town; the shipping; the river; and surrounding country. The prospect was bounded by immense forests, and very little land appeared cleared in the vicinity of the town.

By a census taken four or five years ago, the population of Savannah consisted of 3009 whites, and free people of colour; and 2376 slaves, making a total of 5385. At present it is supposed to be about 6000. The public buildings consist of the Branch bank of the United States; the Exchange; four or five places of worship; and a gaol, built upon the common, some distance from town. The latter is a large strong brick building, and well adapted for the confinement of refractory negroes, and other offenders against the laws.

A large burying ground is judiciously situated out of town, upon the common. It is inclosed by a brick wall, and contains several monuments and tomb-stones, which are shaded by willows and pride of India; and have a very pretty effect. This cemetery, though now a considerable distance from the town, will, in time, most probably, be surrounded by the dwellings of the inhabitants, like those of New York and Charles-

ton. In hot climates, these places infect the atmosphere with unwholesome exhalations, and injure the health of the people. They should at least be two or three miles away from all habitations. But Savaunah is not likely to increase very rapidly; for adventurers reside there as at Charleston, merely for the purpose of accumulating a speedy fortune in trade; and then retire either to their native country, or to some other part, more congenial to health and comfort.

The situation of Savannah, and the plan upon which it is laid out, would, if the town contained better houses, render it far more agreeable as a place of residence, than Charleston. Its greater elevation, I should think, must also be more conducive to the health of the inhabitants, than the low and flat situation of the other city. Both, however, are in the neighbourhood of swamps, marshes, and thick woods, which are apt to engender diseases, injurious to the constitution of white people. Georgia, like Carolina, is subject to frequent storms, hurricanes, and inundations. In 1806, a hurricane tore up the grove of trees on the Bay at Savannah, did great damage to the town and shipping, levelled all the negro huts on the swamp islands, and destroyed several of the negroes. Savannah has also suffered much from fire.

Since the revolutionary war, Georgia, like most of the other states in the union, has rapidly in-

creased in population and riches: but she cannot boast of equal rapidity in arts, sciences, and literature. With respect to these embellishments of civilized society, Georgia is yet in the *Gothic age*. Savannah contains five or six respectable book-stores, and publishes three newspapers; two of which are attached to federal principles. The military force of the state consists of militia; but Savannah has several corps of volunteers, infantry, and cavalry, who clothe and equip themselves at their own expense. During my stay, they exercised for several days on Fort Wayne. This fortification is situated at the extremity of the cliff; and, in the American war, formed the chief defence of the town. It is now nearly destroyed.

Presbyterianism, independency, and methodism, are the most prevailing forms of worship among the inhabitants of Savannah. There are a few Jews, but no Quakers. I went one evening to hear a Mr. Conoch, the favourite preacher of the Presbyterians. I cannot say that I admired his delivery, which had a fault too common to the clergymen of the United States, viz. *monotony*. His voice, likewise, was so loud, that it became harsh and grating to the ear; but his pronunciation was clear and distinct. This gentleman is allowed, by his congregation, a salary of 3000 dollars per annum, besides the pews in the chapel which bring him in

7000 dollars more ; some of the pews being let for upwards of 160 dollars per annum. This enormous sum for one clergyman, in such a small town as Savannah, is rather surprizing ; particularly as the people are proverbial for economy. But enthusiasm and extravagance in religion, are often irresistible, and many persons belonging to the dissenting sects, even in England, have been known to reduce themselves almost to absolute poverty, in the support of their ministers, to the great injury of their own families : it would be well, if they had always met with a grateful return for such disinterested generosity.

The Sunday after my arrival at Savannah, I was passing a methodist meeting, and was induced, by the vehemence of the preacher, to go in and hear his discourse. He uttered such terrible imprecations upon sinners, unless they were born again in faith, that one half of his congregation were groaning and weeping in the most pitiable manner. He seemed to take delight in viewing their distress, conceiving it (I suppose) a mark of their contrition and repentance ; but I rather think it was owing more to the terrifying loudness of his voice, his furious looks, and vehement gesticulations, than to a real sense of their own wickedness. Where this scene of woe and agitation would have stopped, I know not, had the preacher continued his thundering anathemas much longer ; for some of the women

were on the point of fainting away, or going into hysterics, when he fortunately lowered his voice into a short concluding prayer: this restored his congregation to their senses, dried up their tears, and reduced the groans and screams of the females, to inward sobs and plaintive sighs. But such an assemblage of wretched looks, and pale, ghastly countenances, I never before beheld: they seemed, indeed, to have suffered severe castigation for their sins, even in this world. Instead of benefiting by the mild and consolatory precepts of christianity, these people appeared to be lost in a sea of doubt and perplexity; and seemed to think of nothing but everlasting damnation, unless, perchance, they construed a *gripping of the bowels*, into the *workings of divine grace*.

In no part of the world, perhaps, is religious fanaticism carried to a more extravagant height than in the United States, by a few artful, designing men; who contrive to delude the simple and unwary into the most shameful and blasphemous excesses. These fanatics, or artful hypocrites, regularly advertise what they call "camp meetings," in different parts of the country, and invite all "friendly ministers and praying people" to attend. I never had an opportunity of being present at one of these meetings; but am told, that the scenes which are exhibited on those occasions, often beggar all de-

scription. The following account of a recent camp meeting, is by an American gentleman who was present ; and may, therefore, be considered as a correct, though inadequate description of the midnight orgies and revels of those deluded and artful enthusiasts.

“Of late, in America, the Methodists have reduced jumping, clapping, and shouting, to a system. Camp meetings are held in the open fields; and if convenient, in a circular form, at a distance from human habitations, in which their orgies are continued several days, until, by their violent, or as they term it, religious exercise, they are exhausted. They make all manner of ridiculous gestures; discordant noises; and frequently utter blasphemies. They sleep together in tents, old and young; men, women, and children, indiscriminately; the vigorous male, near the unblushing female; black and white, all together.

“I was present lately at one of these diabolical meetings, at which there might be about 5000 persons assembled, of all descriptions and ages. They bring their provisions with them. Soon after the rising of the sun, a beautiful girl about eighteen, rushed forth from a tent, led by two men; they cried, bellowed, and roared, like persons in the utmost agony, begging for their lives; exclaiming, a lake of fire and brimstone was flaming before them; that a great devil was

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thrusting them into it; and that God must come down. '*Come, O God, come down immediately, and save us, or we shall sink.*' These exclamations were repeated in the most vociferous manner, for a length of time, until the young woman was so exhausted by her exertions, that she fell down; her cheek assumed the flush of burning fire; her eyes became inflamed; her lips parched; she sunk on the earth, sighed and sobbed like a child. This ceremony, however, was not completed, until a similar party had issued from another tent; and that, followed by a second, and a third, until the action became general, and the scene, the most confused, terrific, and horrible, ever presented to the human eye. Little children turned pale with fear; young girls fainted to the earth, were raised up, converted, and became good Methodists. Such real agonies, perhaps, were never elsewhere excited by fictitious causes.

"It appears, that the first girl was kept as a decoy, and had frequently gone through those scenes in a similar way. Designing men are, no doubt, at the bottom of this business, and many simple, innocent souls are led on thus, and persuaded of their sincerity. But many also, who have no design, are, by their fanaticism, and violence of passion, induced to commit actions, and make exclamations, which justify the charge of

blasphemy. This is by no means an exaggerated picture; it is but a weak attempt at describing what has taken place: but it is their midnight orgies which appal the heart.

"At one of their meetings, near Morristown, a young woman fainted; immediately they crowded around her, and began their incantations. Her brother, with difficulty, forced his way to her, and attempted to take her into the air, but they prevented him. An athletic young heretic saw their situation; forced his way through the crowd of demons with a stout bludgeon, and liberated them. The brother, assisted by his friend, took her to a place of security; and by force opposed their coming near her again. A tall woman of the sect, tossed up her hands; roared; bellowed with all her strength; and called upon God to '*Open the earth, and sink them into hell!*'"

"Their camp meetings are generally held in a wood; deep, dark, lonely, and almost impenetrable, far from any human habitation. The native burghers of the forest are frightened from their wild retreat, and driven from their home, to make way for these midnight worshippers of the most extravagant superstition. Here the cauldron is set a boiling; and here, in this gloomy hour, the ingredients are cast in, until the spell is wound up, and the weak and terrified mind becomes a converted Methodist."

One half the converts to Methodism in America, are made at camp meetings. What a contrast to the mild and heavenly conduct of the Redeemer ! who, after instructing the multitude in the wilderness, fed them, and sent them quietly to their homes. He terrified them not with wild and furious gestures and imprecations ; he caused none to faint ; to fall down with fear and trembling ; and to exclaim, *that a lake of fire and brimstone was flaming before them !* He resorted not to such unnatural means, to reclaim his auditors from sin and wickedness. His doctrines were mild and peaceable ; and his actions corresponded with them. He uttered no thundering denunciations ; no blasphemous curses, nor deadly maledictions : he invited the repentant by gentleness and kindness ; not repelled him by horrible threatenings. His tongue dropped manna upon all who heard him, and his spirit breathed *peace and good-will to all mankind !*

The christian religion (says a writer of eminence) is in every shape agreeable to the divine justice, which does not punish man for speculative opinions, and particularly for such as are incomprehensible to all mankind. It is a religion every way worthy of its eternal Author ; *and we may know, by the doctrine, that it comes from God.* It is a religion for men of sense, for philosophers, for honest men ; and comprehensible too, by the meanest vulgar without a guide ; a religion of

reason, free from the blind mazes, and studied intricacies of designing people, and beneficial to society at first view. It despises apesh gestures and external buffoonery; and effectually prevents, and puts an end to, all inhuman fierceness, and holy squabbles, too often occasioned by the selfish religions of corrupt priests and enthusiasts. It leaves not unhappy men in perpetual doubts and anxieties; nor tosses and tumbles them, for relief, out of one superstition into another; *but esteems them all alike.* In short, it is a religion which every honest man would wish it to be—a religion of charity and benevolence to all the world!

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CHAPTER XLIII.

Leave Savannah—Excursion up Savannah River—Inundations—Swamp Plantations—Cultivation of Rice—Alligators—Anecdote of an Alligator—Terrebins—Water Vipers—Rattle Snakes—Journey through the Woods—Black Snakes—Variety of Birds—Beautiful Plumage—An Adventure in the Woods—A disinterested Physician—Fire in the Forest—Immense Body of Smoke—Seasons of South Carolina—Cotton Plantations—Cultivation of Cotton—Preparation of Cotton—Produce of a Crop—Bad Roads—Waggoners or Crackers—Roads of South Carolina—Arrive at Charleston.

AFTER a stay of nearly six days at Savannah, I set out on my return to Charleston, in company with a Scotch gentleman of the name of Chapman, with whom I had been acquainted some months previous to our meeting at Savannah. I was now happy to have a companion with me, to relieve the tedium of a journey through the lonely pine barrens. We left Savannah about nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th of March, in the mail boat, with the same conductor and

negro boatmen as I came down the river with the week before. The morning was remarkably fine, and the weather so warm, that we found the benefit of a covered boat, to screen the powerful beams of the sun from our heads. We were the only passengers, and we found ourselves equally comfortable without the company of strangers, not always the most agreeable companions on a journey.

The Savannah river, which waters nearly the whole of the northern frontier of Georgia, is bold and deep ; and from the sea to Augusta, a distance of 236 miles, is navigable for vessels of 70 tons burthen. At that city the falls of the river commence ; beyond, the navigation is continued for 60 miles, to Vienna, for boats of 30 tons or more, from whence it is contemplated to open the navigation up to Andersonville, at the confluence of Tugoloo and Keowee rivers. These latter are large branches of the Savannah river ; the first being upwards of 200 yards wide, a considerable way above their confluence ; and the latter spreading itself over a greater space. Hence, when the accumulated waters of rain and snow pour down their channels, the adjacent low lands and intervals are overflowed with destructive freshes or inundations. These freshes will sometimes rise from 30 to 40 feet perpendicular, above the usual level of the river. In 1701 a very destructive one occurred in part of the country ; and in 1796, a

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similar flood poured down the Savannah river, laying the town of Augusta upwards of two feet under water, and damaging goods therein to a large amount. It tore away an extensive bridge, near 800 feet long, belonging to Mr. Wade Hampton, which had been thrown over that river from South Carolina, and carried destruction and dismay before it, quite to the town of Savannah. The height of this fresh was supposed to be from 35 to 40 feet at Augusta above its common level. This inundation also occasioned immense damage in South Carolina, where the waters rose to as great a height as in Georgia. Several bridges were carried away, and many of the negro huts on the islands and swamp plantations near the coast, were torn up with the people in them, and carried by the torrent entirely out to sea.

Proceeding up Savannah river, we were regaled with a variety of beautiful views. Numerous small islands intersect and divide the river into pretty meandering channels. The shores are mostly lined with large forest trees, and the islands with abundance of small shrubs. A few plantations appear at intervals upon the banks, with now and then a handsome house ; but in general we saw only the negro huts. Many of the slaves were at work upon the rice swamps, which are very numerous along the right bank of the river, the cultivation of which is conducted in the following manner :

Rice lands are laid out into squares, or small fields, proportioned to the strength of the negroes who work them, in such manner, that they can be planted or hoed through in the course of a week. These fields are separated from each other by proper banks, sufficiently strong for retaining water in the one, whilst those adjoining are kept dry. They communicate with each other by trunks and sluices, having valves at either end to receive or retain water, and large trunks or flood gates, from rivers or reservoirs, through which water is occasionally introduced. About the 20th of March, the spring has so far made its appearance, as to enable the sowing of rice in the tide lands : the inlands are not planted until the first or second week in April, as their soils are of a colder nature. Now the red flowering maple has put on its scarlet robe, the alder its blossoms, and the willow its leaves ; the elder also shoots up its vigorous stalks, from the rich land in which it grows ; and the swamp sloe-bush is covered with a profusion of snowy blossoms. The wild geese and ducks have departed for the northern regions ; and the planter, freed from their ravages, begins seriously to sow his crop, continuing that business, from time to time, until the tenth of June, after which, the seasons scarcely permit its ripening before the frosts set in. For this purpose, the land having been previously turned up, is drilled either with ploughs or hoes, but most generally with the hoe.

into about 100 or 125 trenches in the half acre, or eighty trenches in a quarter of an acre, and rice is sown therein, from one to two bushels the acre. It is then covered, and the general custom of tide planters is, immediately to flow the fields with water, keeping the same on from two to four days, according to the season and the heat of the weather.

After the rice is some inches high, and attained a little strength, it requires hoeing. This is a very necessary business, as without it the plant will sometimes sicken and die. Three or more of these hoeings are commonly given to rice during its growth; and at the second hoeing, the toil becomes more serious, for the grass and weeds are then hand-picked from the roots of the rice. After this operation is over, a flowing of tide lands is commonly given, and continued from ten to twenty days, in order to give the rice a stretch, and to prepare it for branching, which it now begins to do. After this, the water is run gradually off, and the rice remains dry for some time. This is a critical period of the crop, as the harvest proves good or bad in proportion to the branching of the rice, where every branch produces one ear, containing from 100 to 300 grains, as the lands may prove productive. In dry seasons, the rice is liable to attacks from a small bug, equally injurious to it as the *Hessian fly* is said to be to wheat, or the *blast* to sugar canes. These insects

attach themselves to the rice, and sneak out all the nourishment of the plant. In tide plantations this mischief is easily remedied, by opening the sluices, and flowing the fields with water ; but the inland planter has not this convenience ; patience and hope are the only sources to which he can then apply for consolation.

Three months after the sowing of rice, it begins to joint, blossom, and form the ear ; water is now absolutely necessary, for without it there is much light rice ; and whenever it can be thrown on from rivers or reservoirs, it is immediately done, and is retained thereon, with a change of water, if convenient, until a few days before the harvest. This agreeable operation in agriculture, generally begins on tide lands towards the end of August ; and in September the harvest becomes general throughout the state. In August, when the rice is flowed, and, as it is termed, *the hoes laid by*, the cooper-stuff is procured, which is necessary for exporting the rice in barrels. For this purpose, negroes are then sent into the pine lands to split staves, and heading for barrels, while others afterwards cut hoop poles for making them. Now the barns and barn-yards are put in order, and the rice mill is prepared for manufacturing the rice for market.

The produce of rice to the acre is different on different soils, and in proportion to the skill with which it is managed. On tide lands, 2,400 lbs.

have been made to the acre ; but in general, the produce is from 1200 to 1500 lbs. weight each acre. The inland plantations do not average so much, ranging only between 600 and 1200 lbs. of clean rice to the acre. They however, in addition to this, generally furnish their own provisions, which is an advantage that the tide-planters seldom enjoy, in consequence of the poverty of their high grounds.

After harvest, the crop is placed in the open barn-yards, either in stacks or in large ricks. It is then threshed out by hand flails, and being winnowed from the straw, is ready for beating. This operation was formerly performed by manual labour, with a pestle and mortar, and is still so done, in some parts of the state ; but, from public encouragement, aided by private necessity and invention, the rice mills of South Carolina are now arrived to a perfection unequalled by those of any part of the world.

As we proceeded up the river we saw a great number of alligators of various sizes ; the largest which we met with was about eight feet long, and from 16 to 18 inches diameter, in the thickest part of its body. They were either swimming along shore, with their heads just above water, or were basking in the sun upon the branches of trees, which projected into the river. Their colour when just coming out of the water, is a dark green or brown ; but when dry, it resembles that of a

log of wood. We fired at several, but are not certain whether any were killed, for the balls often rebounded from their bodies, as if they had struck a coat of mail. The eye, or the breast, are the most vulnerable places. In the upper parts of the river, I am told, they abound in great numbers, and of a very formidable size, growing frequently to the length of *eighteen or twenty feet*. They are said to be more sluggish and cunning, than active or courageous: yet during our passage we had ocular demonstration of the intrepidity of a young one, about four feet long. We discovered him lying near the root of a large tree; the boat approached within a few yards, but was prevented going close to the shore, on account of the branches of trees which projected into the river. The man who had the charge of the mail, fired at him with a musket loaded with ball. The ball passed just over the alligator, yet he moved not in the least. This made us believe he was dead, as all the rest we had fired at, sprang into the water the moment they heard the report of the gun. Mr. Chapman now fired a large horse pistol with ball, and hit the root of the tree upon which he was basking: yet still the animal never stirred. We then absolutely declared him to be dead, and were just making our way with the boat through the branches of the trees to take him, when, behold! the animal rose up, made a circuit round the tree against which

he had reclined, and with the most apparent indifference, *walked* into the water. He then swam slowly off, as if conscious of our inability to hurt him, and kept his eye steadily fixed upon us. We had not time to charge again ; nor indeed had we any inclination, so much did we admire the coolness and intrepidity of this little animal. Previous to my seeing the alligators in this river, I had always an idea, from what I had read, that neither they nor crocodiles could bend their bodies ; but when we fired at, and wounded some that were seven or eight feet long, they twisted their bodies with as much ease, and nearly in the same manner, as a large eel, and plunged into the river.

We also saw a great many tortoises or terrebins basking in the sun like the alligators, upon the trunks and branches of trees that grew in the water along shore. They were of various sizes, and are said to live in harmony with the alligator, in the same hole, in which case the terrebins cannot form an article of food for that voracious animal, otherwise they would fly from his presence. The variety of fish with which the Savannah abounds, affords the alligator abundance of provision, without infringing the rights of hospitality. Our conductor was a great foe to the alligators, and fired at every one he saw. He told us that he once got a young one in the boat, thinking he had completely killed it.

For upwards of an hour it lay motionless ; but, while they happened to go ashore, it availed itself of the opportunity to make its escape, by plunging into the river. We were obliged to keep some distance from the trees and shrubs which hung over the banks of the river, as there were a great number of *water vipers* reclining upon the branches. They are apt to spring into the boat, if it approaches too close, which is dangerous, as their bite is said to be venomous. We killed several of these noxious reptiles, who had coiled themselves up in an easy posture among the branches, for the double purpose of enjoying the warmth of the sun, and catching small flies and insects. Besides these vipers, our conductor informed us, that the shores abounded with a species of *water rattle-snake*, whose bite was also of a deadly nature.

About half past three in the afternoon we arrived at Purrysburgh, after a pleasant excursion of 25 miles up the river, which fully recompensed me for the wet uncomfortable passage I had experienced down the same river the preceding week. We dined at the driver's house ; after which, we departed from Purrysburgh in the stage. At one time we intended to have performed our journey on foot ; but, on consideration, Mr. Chapman recollected that he had business which required him to be in Charleston as soon as possible, and it would have taken us at least

four days to have walked there, without inconvenience to ourselves. For my own part, I had already had a pretty good specimen of a pedestrian excursion in the pine forests, and was not eager to have another ; but the road, till within ten miles of Charleston, was so remarkably straight, smooth, and level, with scarcely a stone, rut, hole, or hillock to impede our progress, that walking, provided the weather were fair, would have been equally agreeable to riding.

As the road was the same, over which I had travelled but a few days before, there was nothing novel in any thing that offered itself to my notice, except that the increased warmth of the weather had brought out a number of black, and other snakes, from their holes ; they were either running along the ground, or were suspended from the branches of trees. There was also a greater variety of birds, many of them of handsome plumage and agreeable note ; but I had no opportunity to examine them minutely.

We stopped, about nine o'clock, to change horses, at a small log-hut in the woods, belonging to a man who had lately arrived there, with his family, to settle, and clear a portion of land which he had purchased. Mr. Chapman and I alighted from the coach to get some milk of the people ; when we entered the hut, we found the man lying by the fire, upon a wretched bed, on the bare earth, unable to turn himself, on account

of the rheumatism, which had almost taken away the use of one side. He was in great pain, and begged of us to tell him what would relieve the agony he had suffered for more than six weeks. For the first time in my life, I became a *Physician*, and without a diploma from *Aberdeen*, had the temerity to prescribe fomentations, with flannels dipped in hot water, and a plentiful application of oil and hartshorn, to be well rubbed over the parts affected by his obedient wife. I had no occasion to write a Latin prescription, as the coachman promised to bring him the articles on his return; neither did I demand the *usual fee*, for which, perhaps, I shall be considered, by the College of Physicians, as an *ignorant* practitioner. I am, however, in hopes, that my *advice, gratis*, has been of service; unless, indeed, my patient neglected to have the crevices between the logs of his miserable hut filled up with clay or moss; for in every part of the habitation, the cold wind, night air, dews, and fogs, gained an easy admittance. No wonder he was unable to move for six weeks!

We arrived at Pocotaligo about midnight, an unusual late hour for the Savannah stage, as it has only 24 miles to run from Purrysburgh; but we had set out very late from Savannah, on account of the tide, and had spent rather too much time in shooting at alligators and snakes, otherwise we should have been there earlier. The coach from Charleston had been in upwards of three

hours, and the passengers were gone to bed. As we had to start again at two o'clock, we did not think it worth while to lie down, and therefore took our seats by the fire-side after supper.

At two o'clock in the morning we left Pocotaligo, and its solitary tavern, without regret. The morning was dark and cloudy, and the driver was but just able to see the road ; but in the midst of a wood, where the path was so narrow, we could deviate very little from the track, without running against the trees. This had nearly happened two or three times, and I expected every moment that we should come to the ground, with the loss of a wheel.

The sun rose about six o'clock, but it was a considerable time before the dewy vapours, which had covered the ground during night, were dispersed. About an hour after, while yet in the midst of an extensive pine barren, we were suddenly enveloped, in what we, at first, supposed to be a thick fog ; but as we proceeded farther on, we discovered it to be the smoke of a large fire in the forest. No flames, however, were discernible any where ; and as we rode on, the smoke continued to thicken, insomuch, that we could not see the two leaders ; and it was with great difficulty we could draw our breath. Unaccustomed to such a scene, Mr. Chapman and I began to hesitate about going any farther, for we expected every moment to be surrounded by the

flames which had created such an immense body of smoke. Unfortunately, this was the only road, unless we had returned back to Pocotaligo, and gone down the road to Beaufort, which branches off towards Ashepoo-bridge; but this would have delayed us a whole day, and the coachman expected every moment to arrive at a log-hut, to change horses, and where he meant to inquire whether the fire extended across the road, and would prevent us from passing.

We had now rode upwards of three miles through this thick cloud of smoke, and should have passed the hut, had not a negro been waiting on the road side for our arrival. Here we alighted, while the horses were changing, and went into the hut, which was inhabited by two negroes, employed to take care of the horses: they informed us, that the forest had been set on fire a day or two before, to clear the ground of the long grass and brush-wood, and it being very dry weather, the fire had spread farther than was intended: they did not think that it had reached the road, though the smoke had settled in the forest, in consequence of there being no wind to disperse it. I could not help pitying the situation of these two poor fellows, who resided in the neighbourhood of such a dreadful conflagration. When the horses were put to, the driver got one of the negroes to run before the leaders, till we could get clear of the smoke, as the horses, being fresh

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out of the stable, could not see their way, and were much alarmed. In this manner we rode on for about a mile, when, fortunately, the smoke began to clear away; the negro then left us, and returned to his hut; but it was a considerable distance further before we were entirely free from smoke, and once more in broad day-light.

About half past nine, we arrived at Jacksonborough, where we breakfasted: at ten, we proceeded on our journey. The day was extremely fine; it had all the beauty of summer, without its sultry heat; all the trees and shrubs were in leaf, and many of them in blossom; the air was impregnated with the fragrant perfume of the yellow jasmynes, and various species of honeysuckle and woodbine. A variety of beautiful birds enlivened the woods with their gay plumage and cheerful notes. In short, all nature seemed to rejoice in the return of the most agreeable season of the year, and the only one that can be enjoyed with comfort in the lower part of this State. The winter is certainly warm and moderate, but the weather is unsettled. Trees, shrubs, and plants, are then destitute of their beautiful foliage and fragrant blossoms; and the fields, plantations, and gardens, want their verdant crops, their gay and lively flowers. At that season we see nothing but the deep unvarying tint of pines, firs, laurels, bays, and other evergreens. The summer is too sultry to admit of frequent ex-

posure in the open air, and the autumn generally brings with it, in the country parts, fever and ague, and in the towns, the *typhus icterodes* or yellow fever.

In several of the plantations, that we passed, the negroes were busily employed in hoeing and planting. Men and women, boys and girls, were alike engaged; and each had a separate piece of ground marked out for their day's work. When their task is finished, some planters allow their slaves to work for themselves, on small gardens which are usually allotted to them. Where they have the good fortune to fall into the hands of a liberal-minded man, their situations is far from irksome, and they frequently know nothing of slavery, but the name. In such cases, negroes have been known to save up enough from the produce of their little gardens and live stock, to purchase their freedom, which is generally equivalent to five or six hundred dollars.

Cotton is raised from the seed, and managed nearly in the following manner. About the latter end of March, or beginning of April, commences the season for planting cotton. In strong soils the land is broken up with ploughs, and the cotton is sown in drills, about five feet from each other, and at the rate of nearly a bushel of seed to the acre; after which, when the cotton is a few leaves high, the earth is thrown up in a

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ridge, to the cotton, on each side, by a plough, with a mould board adapted to that purpose ; or, in the first instance, beds are made rather low and flat, and the cotton is sown therein. By some, they are sown in holes, at about ten inches distance ; but the more general practice is to sow the cotton in a drill along the length of the bed ; after which it may be thinned at leisure, according to its growth. In rich high land soils, not more than fifteen of these beds are made in a quarter of an acre ; but in inferior lands, twenty-one beds are made in the same space of ground. When the plants are about four or six leaves high, they require a thinning ; at which time, only a very few plants are left at each distance, where it is intended the cotton is to grow : and from time to time these plants are thinned, until, at length, two plants, or only one, are left at each distance.

Where the land is not rich, the plants remain within ten or twelve inches of each other ; but when a luxuriant growth is induced, they are thinned to eighteen inches, and two feet ; and in rich swamp lands, to four feet distance in the rows. At the time of thinning, also, the first hoeing is generally given ; and the rule is, not to draw the earth down, but constantly to draw up a little earth at each hoeing, to the plant : and to give the fields a hoeing every two or three weeks. With some planters the practice of top-

ping the main stalk has been used, when the plants are too luxuriant ; but the plant throwing out consequently an abundance of suckers, and thereby increasing the toil of the negroes to pull them away, has induced its discontinuance. Towards the middle of September, however, it may be advantageous to top the cotton to the lowest blossoms ; as from that time no blossoms will produce cotton. By this treatment also, the sun has a greater influence with the plant, the pods open sooner, and the strength of the plant is not drawn unnecessarily from those pods, which are likely to come to maturity.

Towards the middle of June, the plants begin to put forth their beautiful blossoms ; and continue blossoming and forming the pods, until the frosts set in ; at which time, all the pods that are not well grown, are injured and destroyed. Early in August, the cotton harvest begins, and in September it is general throughout the state, continuing until December. The cotton wool is contained in the pod, in three or four different compartments ; which bursting when ripe, presents the cotton full blown, to the sight, surrounding its seed. The cotton is then picked from the pods, and put into small bags of osnaburg, which are slung over the negroes' shoulders for that purpose, and afterwards carried to the cotton-house. From thence it is, in a day or two after, taken out, and spread on a platform

to dry, after which it is ready for ginning. For this purpose, a suitable house is necessary ; sufficiently large to receive both the cured cotton, and that which has been lately brought in. When the cotton is well opened, a negro will gather 60 or 70 lbs. of cotton in the seed in one day. The produce of cotton is various, according to its different situations and kinds. In the lower country, the *black seed* produces from 100 to 300lbs. of clean cotton, per acre. In the middle and upper country, *green seed* does the like. Upon indifferent lands, only from 60 to 100 lbs. of clean cotton is made to the acre. On better lands from 100 to 200 lbs., and on the best lands, in good seasons, upwards of 300 lbs. have been made, in Beaufort district. The planter, however, is satisfied with from 150 to 200 lbs. of clean black seed cotton to the acre. The green seed planter expects somewhat more.

There are several kinds of *gins* in use, but the *saw gins*, are reckoned to clean the most cotton in the shortest time. The saw gins are used particularly for extracting the cotton from the green seed, to which it closely adheres. This mill is worked either by oxen or water ; and consists of an horizontal cog wheel, or a water wheel working a band which puts the pullies of the saw-mill in motion. One of these pullies turns a cylinder, round which is affixed from 20 to 40 circular iron plates, about three-fourths of

an inch distant from each other, serrated at the edge; these continually revolve between iron straps into the compartment where the cotton is placed, and thus tear the cotton from the seeds, as the space through which they revolve is not sufficiently large to let the seeds pass through. Another pulley moves a cylinder with a set of brushes opposite each saw, which take the clean cotton from the teeth of the saw, and discharge it from the gin. One person, besides the packers and those who drive the oxen, is sufficient to attend this gin, and the cotton cleaned by it daily may be from 600 to 900lbs. weight.

After the cotton is thus ginned, a number of hands are employed in picking from it any dirt, or bits of seed, which may remain in it: it is then packed up in bags, weighing from 250 to 300lbs., and is ready for market. Such is the growth of cotton in South Carolina, and the mode of preparing it for market. But it is not all of the same intrinsic value, as that raised on lands adjacent to the sea, and salt water, called *island or sea shore cotton*, being *black seed*, is preferred to the *green seed cotton*, which is raised in the interior of the country. Cotton is also grown at Berbice, Demerara, Surinam, Cayenne, St. Domingo, Tobago, Jamaica, and other parts of the West Indies, as well also in the East Indies: but Great Britain now receives her chief supplies of that article from the American States.

After passing two or three places, where the trees and fences were on fire close to the road, we arrived at the small tavern or ferry-house, on the border of Ashley river, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Though I could not obtain a morsel of bread, when I passed that way the week before ; yet the landlord now contrived to give us an excellent dinner, and a good bottle of London porter. Travellers going to Charleston in the stage, always stop at this house to dine ; but those going to Savannah dine at Jacksonborough, where the charges are higher and the dinner worse.

Though we had only ten miles further to go, yet, after passing Ashley ferry, the road was so bad, that we did not reach Charleston till near seven o'clock in the evening. The sandy soil, of which the road is composed, is continually ploughed up, and thrown into deep furrows, by the narrow wheels of the country waggons, which are daily passing to and from the city. The waggons carry a load of from two or three tons, and are drawn by four or six horses. In wet weather, the clayey roads are cut into deep ruts, and are sometimes rendered impassable by these narrow wheeled machines, fifteen or twenty of which are often to be seen, following each other in the same track. Most of the produce of the upper and interior parts of the state are brought to Charleston by these waggons.

The waggoners are familiarly called *crackers* (from the smacking of their whip, I suppose). They are said to be often very rude and insolent to strangers, and people of the towns, whom they meet on the road, particularly if they happen to be genteel persons. I have heard of several ludicrous, and some shameful tricks, which these gentry of the *whip* have been guilty of. There are instances of their having robbed people; but in general they confine themselves to a few mad pranks, which they call *jokes*. In almost every part of the United States, there seems to be an invincible antipathy, between the towns' people and these waggoners, who take every opportunity they can to give each other a thrashing. The waggoner constantly rides on one of the shaft horses, and with a long whip guides the leaders. Their long legs, lanky figures, and meagre countenances, have sometimes a curious appearance when thus mounted; especially if a string of them happen to pass along the road.

The roads of South Carolina will admit of carriages and waggons as far as the mountains; and cross roads, to and from each court-house, are made throughout the state. In the upper country, the water courses are mostly fordable; and where they are not, they are, as in other parts of the state, crossed by bridges or ferry-boats. The roads are made and kept in repair under the direction of commissioners; in the lower

country by negroes, and in the middle and upper country by a suitable number of residents in the county or parish through which they lead; otherwise there is little or no expense attending them. At this time a carriage and four may be driven from any part of the state to the other; from the sea shore to the mountains, without any other difficulty than such as naturally arise in long journeys, and the state of the roads in very bad weather. Some few toll bridges are erected, but the spirit of the people is not yet favourable to these taxes on travelling.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Leave Charleston—Embark for New York in the Calliope Packet—Gale of Wind—Drunken Pilot—Anecdote of a Negro Pilot—Arrive at New York—Melancholy Effects of the Embargo—Leave New York in the Stage for Boston—Pass through Haerlem—Newhaven—General Bradley—The Two Crownshields—Virginian Drams—Virginian Fighting—Gouging, Kicking, and Biting—Fight between a German Gentleman and a Carolinian, at Monte Video—Arrive at Hartford—Manners of the People of Connecticut—Productions—General Face of the Country—Stafford Springs—Handsomeness of Houses and Churches—Arrive at Worcester—Crin. Con. —Universalists—Marlborough—Dispute about building a Church—Congregationalists—An American Election—Characters of the New Englanders—Prejudices of former Travellers—Lower Orders—The “French Mounseer”—Lower Orders of the English—Dress and Manners of the New England Females.

AFTER my return to Charleston, I continued about a fortnight in that city, during which I had partly formed a resolution to proceed to New York by land, but in consequence of letters which

I received, hastening my return to Canada, I gave up the idea, and determined to take a passage in the packet for New York, as the most expeditious mode of conveyance. I was thus deprived of the pleasure of seeing the cities of Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, a circumstance which, for several reasons, I much regretted.

On the morning of the 5th of April, I embarked once more on board the Calliope packet, Capt. Records, and left the harbour of Charleston, with a fine breeze from the southward. We had two gentlemen and three ladies, passengers, all of whom were strangers to me. The old Irish razor grinder, who was passenger with us before, was also on board, on his return to New York, having reaped a very plentiful harvest in Charleston. I had seen him several times in the street, grinding knives and razors, surrounded by a crowd of gaping boys and negroes, who had never seen the like before.

The day after our departure we entered the gulf stream; this increased the rapidity of our way at least three knots, and in less than four days sail we were in the latitude of New York. But a gale of wind coming on from the south-west, we were driven off the coast all night. The two following days were extremely foggy, and the wind unfavourable; but the next morning, the 13th of April, the weather clearing up, we came

in sight of the Neversink Hills, and in the course of the afternoon took a pilot on board. The fellow was extremely drunk, and seemed little capable of affording us any assistance. Yet he took charge of the vessel with much confidence, and gave his orders correctly; not forgetting also to ask the captain for beef, rum, and candles, the moment he put his foot upon deck. These were accordingly handed into the pilot boat, as is the custom on those occasions, and I doubt much if he would have taken charge of the vessel had his demand been refused. The black pilots in the West Indies are also very troublesome when they come on board, for beef and grog, which it is usually the custom to give them. One day a West Indiaman going into Port Royal, Jamaica, took a black pilot on board. "Give me some beef, massa, me can no take ship safe, widout grog and beef."—"D---n you, mind the ship, you black rascal," said the captain, "and when she is safe you shall have what you want." Blackey and his men were, however, very sulky; one of them sounding with the lead, the captain asked, "What water have you got?" "What water, massa? why *what* water do you tink we have got?" "D---n you," says the captain, "I say what water have you?" "Why, *salt* water, massa, to besure." "You black scoundrel," said the captain in a rage, "tell me, again, I say, *how much* water

have you got?" "Lord, massa, how can me tell, me have no *pot* to measure it wid."

I found vegetation at New York a full month behind that of South Carolina. The poplars, and many other trees, were not yet in leaf, while at Charleston most of the trees were in blossom, and peas, asparagus, and other vegetables, had been in the markets upwards of three weeks. But to the northward, winter still seemed to linger in the gardens, the fields, and the forests, and the productions of nature were yet in the bud.

Every thing wore a dismal aspect at New York. The embargo had now continued upwards of three months, and the salutary check which Congress imagined it would have upon the conduct of the belligerent powers, was extremely doubtful, while the ruination of the commerce of the United States appeared certain, if such a destructive measure was persisted in. Already had 120 failures taken place among the merchants and traders, to the amount of more than 5,000,000 dollars, and there were above 500 vessels in the harbour, which were lying up useless, and rotting for want of employment. Thousands of sailors were either destitute of bread, wandering about the country, or had entered into the British service. The merchants had shut up their counting-houses, and discharged their clerks, and the farmers refrained from cultivating their land; for if they brought their produce to market, they

either could not sell at all, or were obliged to dispose of it for only a fourth of its value. In short, go where I would, the people were full of complaints; those only excepted who, by an unaccountable fatality, acquiesced in the measures of government, to the destruction of their own property, because it injured their political opponents, and gratified their malice against the English nation.

Being anxious to return to Canada, I did not feel an inclination to make any stay at New York, particularly as there was little else to see but *gloomy looks and long faces*. Having therefore rested myself for five or six days, to recover from the effects of the tossing and tumbling which I had sustained during the passage, I bade adieu to that elegant city, which I regretted to leave in such a melancholy state of dejection.

I had engaged a place in Courtland-street, in the mail stage for Boston, and on Wednesday the 20th of April, I took my departure about eight in the morning. We proceeded through Chatham-street, and along the Bowery-road. This avenue is remarkable for its width, and the handsome appearance of its buildings. About two miles from the city all the houses are built in an elegant and tasty manner, of wood painted white, and ornamented with green venetian shades, neat railings, and small gardens. They stand apart from each other, and serve as summer retreats for

the gentry and merchants of the city, particularly during the sickly season. They are built on a rising ground along the road, and command an extensive and beautiful view of the surrounding country.

Passed through Haerlem village, and across the river of the same name, which separates the island of Manhattan or New York, from the continent. A good toll-bridge is erected over the river. In the vicinity of this place is the race-ground, where jockies and horse-dealers never fail to take in the flats, whenever the races are held. We arrived at Stamford to dinner about two o'clock, having passed through the several villages of Kingsbury, East Chester, New Rochelle, Maronick, Rye, and Greenwich, which last place is situated in the state of Connecticut. The houses were mostly new, all neatly built of wood or brick, well painted, and in excellent order. The country along this road is composed of alternate hills and dales. The soil in many places is extremely rocky and sterile, and in other parts rich and fruitful. A succession of picturesque views delight the eye, particularly to the right. On that side the shores of the continent and Long Island, the channel, and small islands between; with several handsome streams meandering through verdant meadows and well cultivated grounds, afforded a rich variety of landscapes from every hill we rode over

Having dined, we left Stamford, and proceeded on our journey through Norwalk, Greenfarms, Fairfield, and Stratford; crossed the ferry at the latter place; passed through Milford, and arrived at Newhaven about midnight. Newhaven is a handsome town, of moderate size, and the capital of the county which bears the same name. It has a harbour for small coasting vessels, formed by an arm of the sea, between the main land and Long Island. The situation is healthy and pleasing; the streets are intersected at right angles, and the houses are built at considerable distances from each other; sufficient, in many places, to admit of several large corn-fields, which thus appear in the middle of a town.

The next morning I left Newhaven in the stage, in company with five other passengers. Two of them were Messrs. Crowninshields, of Salem, in Massachusetts, whose brother, a member of the House of Representatives, died at Washington, where they had been to attend him during his illness. They were merchants, of considerable property, and concerned chiefly in the East India trade. One of the other passengers was General Bradley, a senator in Congress, for the State of Vermont. He had accompanied the Crowninshields from Washington, in consequence of Congress having adjourned for a few weeks.

These three gentlemen were all violent anti-

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federalists, or rather democrats, as they are termed by the opposite party. General Bradley had distinguished himself, by having summoned a caucus of the members of Congress, at Washington, in order to recommend Mr. Madison to the people, as President at the ensuing election, to succeed Mr. Jefferson. This proceeding was considered to be so unconstitutional, that even several of his own party condemned it, and refused to attend. They said, that it was an endeavour to bias the sentiments of the people in their choice of a ruler, a measure highly subversive of the freedom of election. From this circumstance, the General has ever since been nicknamed, "*President-making Bradley*." Whatever violence this gentleman might have exhibited in his senatorial capacity, or political sentiments, I must do him the justice to say, that he always abstained from political conversation, though often introduced by the other passengers; and when they sometimes began to be warm with each other, he would beg them to discuss some more agreeable topic, or perhaps interrupt them with a laughable anecdote. Indeed, I found the General to be a most agreeable well-informed man, possessed of considerable humour, with the manners and politeness of a well-educated gentleman; and I only regretted that we had not the pleasure of his company farther than Hartford.

The two Crowninshields were sensible men, but

possessed all the political violence of the General, with very little of his forbearance and good humour. They entered upon, and often introduced political subjects, with an acrimony that could not be agreeable in a promiscuous company, where there were others of totally opposite principles and opinions. The General, however, contrived to keep us all in good humour; diverting our attention from the *virtues* of Mr. Jefferson, the *outrages* of the English and French nations, to a facetious story or pleasant anecdote. Speaking of the Virginians, he gave us the following specimen of their *dram-drinking*.

A gum-tickler, is a gill of spirits, generally rum, taken fasting.

A phlegm-cutter, is a double dose, just before breakfast.

An antifogmatic, is a similar dram before dinner.

A gall-breaker, is about half a pint of ardent spirits.

When they inquire how such-a-one does, the answer is "oh, he is only drinking *gum-ticklers*!" If he is drinking *phlegm-cutters*, or *antifogmatics*, the case is not so good, and he is soon expected to get to *gall-breakers*; but if he is drinking the *latter*, they consider him as a lost sheep,—say it is all over with him, and pity his desperate case. Indeed, a man seldom lives above six months after he has commenced the *gall-breaking* dram! Rum.

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brandy, or gin *sling*, is a common beverage for travellers throughout the States; and the stage-coachmen, in the course of a journey, take "*a special good quantity of it.*" Sometimes it consists only of the liquor and water, sweetened with sugar, and drank cold; but, in general, it is made of milk, with ginger or nutmeg grated into it.

The General informed me, that the mode of fighting in Virginia, and the other southern states, is really of that description mentioned by preceding travellers, the truth of which many persons have doubted, and some even contradicted. *Gouging, kicking, and biting*, are allowed in most of their battles; and the combatants pride themselves upon the dexterity with which they can *pluck out an eye, bite off a nose, or break a jaw with a kick of their foot.* Gouging is performed by twisting the fore finger in a lock of hair, near the temple, and turning the eye out of the socket with the thumb nail, which is suffered to grow long for that purpose.

While at New York, I was acquainted with a German gentleman, who had arrived there from the Rio de la Plata, after the loss of that country by General White Locke. This gentleman told me, that during his residence at Monte Video, he had lived on the most friendly terms with a young gentleman, a native of North Carolina; but happening one day to quarrel, concerning a Spanish lady, who had fascinated them both, they soon

proceeded from words to blows ; and, while the German was fighting fairly with his fists, his antagonist suddenly grappled with him, twisted i finger in a side-lock of hair, and was on the point of turning the eye out of the socket, when, fortunately, the German give him a terrible blow, just under the jaw ; this obliged the Carolinian to let go his hold, but not till he had left a severe cut upon the other's eye-lid, by the sharpness of his thumb nail. He shewed me the scar, which he would no doubt carry with him to his grave. The German gentleman declared, that he was so shocked at the unfair and brutal attempt of the American, to deprive him of his eye, or perhaps both, that though the latter wished to be friendly with him again, yet he never afterwards could see him but with disgust.

We arrived at Hartford about two o'clock, and stopped there to dine. The country through which we had passed this morning was extremely beautiful : we travelled, for the most part, over a succession of lofty hills, commanding extensive views across the country. In the midst of some beautiful plains and valleys, appeared the Connecticut river, with its fruitful shores covered with innumerable habitations, surrounded by well-cultivated grounds, pastures, and meadow lands, orchards, and gardens ; all which evinced the steady and industrious character of the inhabitants. Every mile we advanced afforded us

some new objects for admiration ; whether they consisted of lofty mountains, fruitful valleys, verdant lawns, meandering streams, rich farms, or populous towns ; for they were more or less the materials which composed the scenery along the road to Hartford, and presented a rapid succession of rich and beautiful landscapes. I regretted only, that spring had not yet removed the gloomy mantle of winter, and presented to our view the graceful charms and hidden beauties of nature.

Our stay at Hartford was too short to admit of any collecting much information concerning the town. It appeared to be composed of regular streets, and well built houses of red brick. Order, neatness, and cleanliness seemed to be a predominant feature in the character of its inhabitants ; as was the case in all the towns and villages of this state through which I had passed. It is built on the banks of the Connecticut river, and surrounded by rich pasture and meadow ground, well cultivated corn-fields, and neat dwelling houses. It is the capital of the State of Connecticut, though the meetings of the legislature are divided between this town and Newhaven. Hartford contains a state-house, a bank, museum, some neat churches and meetings, and about 10,000 inhabitants. We left the town about three o'clock, and parted reluctantly with General Bradley ; who had pleased



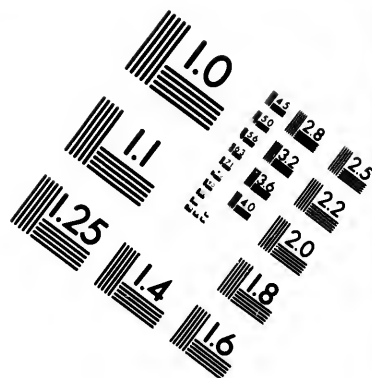
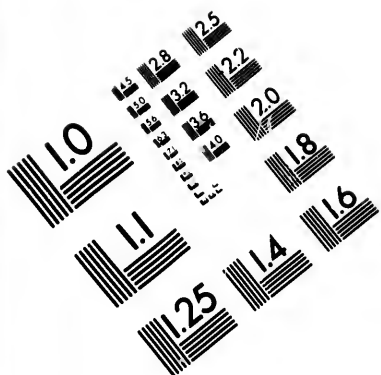
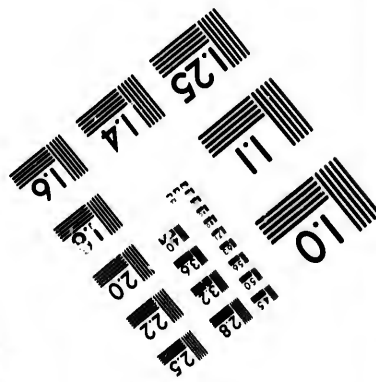
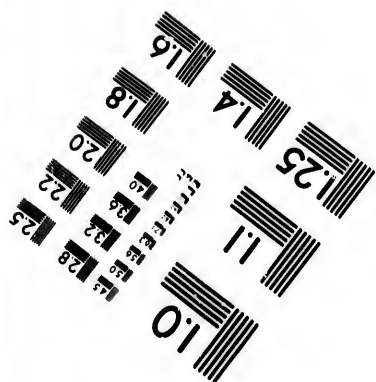
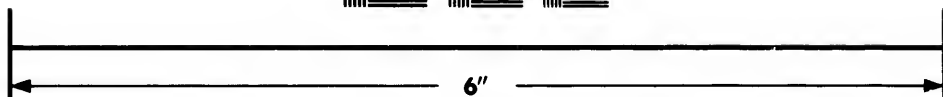
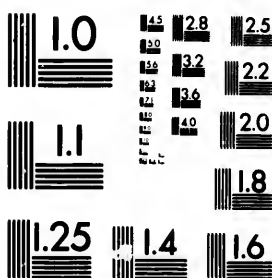


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us by his gentlemanly manners, and entertained us with his facetious and agreeable humour.

Our stage and four horses embarked on board the flat-bottomed ferry-boat; and Charon, not content with us, took in another stage and four, in spite of our remonstrances to the contrary; which rendered our passage across the Connecticut river, extremely dangerous. The waters had risen several feet above their usual level, occasioned by the melting of the snow and ice in the upper parts of the country; and had inundated the opposite side of the river, above a mile from the shore. All the houses near the river were surrounded, and the farms laid under water. Our ferry-boat had therefore to pass over fences and hedges, and between trees and houses, for more than a mile after we had crossed the river. It was with difficulty the driver could keep his horses quiet; and one plunge would have upset the boat, and most probably drowned us all.

For several miles, we passed through a plain level country, well cultivated; and apparently rich, and fertile. The people of Connecticut are distinguished by their industry, sobriety, and economy; strict piety and devotion. Travelling on Sundays is not permitted in their state, though strangers often contrive to evade the laws. Elders go about, and forbid inn-keepers at their peril to suffer any person to travel; but the latter generally keep a few horses ready saddled in

the stables; and if a traveller arrives on a Sunday he helps himself to one of the horses, and goes off by some bye road. This manœuvre of the inn-keepers resembles that of the Quakers in paying taxes, "Friend thee may *take*, but I cannot *give* to thee."

The inhabitants are almost entirely of English descent, there being neither French, Dutch, Germans, nor other foreigners among them; and very few, even of the Irish and Scotch. The rough, frank hospitality of the English farmer, is here generally met with; and though there are not many who are remarkable for *opulence*, yet the number is still less of those who are remarkable for *indigence*. The generality of the people live in easy, independent circumstances; and upon that footing of equality, which is best calculated to promote virtue and happiness among society. The population of the state is about 300,000, the majority of whom are Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Independents. The people are said to be distinguished for their general information and learning; and the country abounds with colleges, grammar schools, and village seminaries. The select men (magistrates) are empowered to levy a fine of three dollars upon every person who neglects to send his children to school.

The general face of the country consists of mountains, hills, plains, and valleys; well watered

by the Connecticut river, and a variety of smaller streams. The climate is healthy, though liable to the extremes of heat and cold. The principal productions are, wheat, rye, buckwheat, Indian corn, oats, barley, flax, hemp, and vegetables of all kinds. Great quantities of horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and poultry are also raised in this state, of a very excellent kind. Cyder is the favourite beverage of the people; and large orchards crowded with an immense variety of fruit trees, are attached to every farm in the state.

About seven o'clock in the evening, we arrived at Stafford, a small village in the state of Massachusetts. Since leaving Hartford, we had proceeded, for the most part, through new turnpike roads, where the settlements are yet in their infancy. Within a mile of Stafford we passed a mineral spring of some celebrity, to which the fashionables of Massachusetts resort every summer to drink the water. It is only within these few years, that the spring was discovered; and a person has built, on speculation, a large house in its vicinity, where he accommodates the gentry at ten or twelve dollars per week. The situation is wild and solitary, and apparently possesses but few attractions for valetudinarians; yet, I am told that a great many resort there every year; some for the benefit of their *health*, but more, because it is the *fashion*.

The next morning we left Stafford, and pro-

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ceeded through some new turnpike roads, along which the country is settling fast. In many parts the soil is rocky, and full of loose stones; several cleared spots of this description, I was informed, sold for upwards of ten dollars per acre. This part of the country is mountainous, but frequently interspersed with extensive plains and meadows. Oxen are much used for field labour in the New England states, because cheaper than horses, as they are afterwards fattened for market; and great numbers are exported to the southern states; to the West India Islands; Newfoundland, &c. I saw above twelve yoke of oxen dragging a sort of scoop along the road, to level the ruts; behind the scoop, large boughs and branches of trees were fastened, for the purpose of smoothing the gravel.

We stopped to dine at Brookfield, a very pretty village, adorned with a neat church, and some handsome dwelling houses. Throughout the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, a remarkable neat, and indeed elegant, style of architecture and decoration, seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages; and, I understand, is more or less prevalent in the rest of the northern and middle states. The houses in the small towns and villages, are mostly built of wood, generally one or two stories above the ground floor; the sides are neatly clapboarded and painted white. The sloping

roofs are covered with shingles, and painted of a slate colour ; and with sash windows, green venetian shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or as they are oftener termed, meetings, are constructed of similar materials ; painted white, and frequently decorated like the houses, with sash windows and green venetian shades. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire or steeple, with one or two bells. A small town composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well cultivated farms, large fields, orchards and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth and happiness of its inhabitants. Indeed those parts of the northern and middle states, through which I travelled, have the appearance of old, well settled countries. The towns and villages are populous ; provisions are cheap and abundant ; the farms appear in excellent order ; and the inhabitants, sober, industrious, religious, and happy.

At four o'clock, we arrived at Worcester. This town is handsome and well built, and consists of one long street of houses. It is the capital of the county of the same name, and contains several respectable stores, shops, inns, and taverns ; two or three places of worship, and a

handsome new court-house. As we were to remain here this night, I took the opportunity of walking through the town. The street is of considerable breadth, unpaved; but has excellent foot-paths on each side. The houses are of brick or wood, and built in that neat and tasty manner just described. Perceiving the court-house to be crowded with people, I went up stairs, and found they were trying a man, at the suit of the state of Massachusetts, for crim. con. It appeared that the prisoner had been found in company with a blacksmith's wife, and the young men of the neighbourhood had carried them both in procession through the town, on the back of a raw-boned Rosinante, the woman being tied on before, astride the horse, and he fastened behind with his back to her. The wags, however, to the number of fifty, had suffered for their frolic, in taking the law into their own hands, and had been fined the day before, some in three dollars, others in ten dollars, according to their circumstances, and this day the prisoner stood trial for his offence at the suit of the state. The trial was not finished when I left the court-house, but it was supposed that he would be fined and imprisoned. He was a farmer, had a large family, and before this circumstance bore a good character. Some curious remarks were made upon his religion, which was that of an Universalist; and the judge observed, that it was an excellent faith for

such men as the prisoner, and extremely accommodating; for they believed that all men would be saved, whatever had been their crimes and offences in this world. Great stress was also laid upon what place of worship he went to, for it seems that some of the meetings in America have no better reputation than houses of ill fame. Witness the *camp meetings*, which are attended by all the refuse of the towns, by *bawds*, *pimps*, and *prostitutes*, who all swell the number of *converted sinners* in that country.

The Universalists in America profess very accommodating tenets; tenets which, I cannot help thinking, are very dangerous to the peace and happiness of society. They conceive that every thing is to be accomplished by *faith alone*. According to the information I received from one or two of this persuasion, they do not believe in future rewards and punishments, but are of opinion, that all men will go to heaven, however wicked or diabolical their acts may have been upon earth. They say that Christ died to save the *sinful*, and not the *righteous*; and it is sufficient that they *believe it*, to be saved. If they commit any sins, they think they receive sufficient punishment if their consciences should be apt to reproach them; not reflecting that if they are tormented in their conscience, it is from the expectation of a *future punishment*, and of course militates against their own doctrine. Yet they persist in

the belief that *good works* are *not* necessary to salvation. If a man, say they, commits murder, and is hung for it, that is a sufficient atonement for his offence; and so with respect to other crimes and punishments in this world.

The following morning, Saturday, 23d April, we left Worcester, and proceeded through a beautiful well settled country, to the town of Marlborough, where we changed horses. The houses are built in a straggling manner, and extend the town upwards of a mile and half. It is remarkable for its two handsome new churches; though one is quite sufficient for the present population of the town. It happened, however, that a dispute arose as to the spot upon which a new church should be built. One part of the inhabitants wished it to be built at their end of the town, and the other party at the opposite. After much altercation, dispute, and argumentation, in which there were more speakers than hearers, each party resolved to build a church for itself. Their determination was immediately put in execution, and the two rival churches arose within half a mile of each other. Both are elegantly neat, but one is rather handsomer than the other, and is superior to any country church that I have seen in the States. This one cost nearly double the expense of the other, being built on the surface of a rock, great part of which was obliged to be cut away, to level it for a foundation to the building.

It was respecting this rock that the opposition first arose, the other end of the town opposing the building a church upon it as creating *unnecessary expense*, and that a more convenient and cheap situation might be found. The consequence was, that the town was put to the expense of *two* churches instead of *one*.

The inhabitants of Marlborough are nearly all Congregationalists. This denomination of Christians practise a form of worship that easily reconciles the Presbyterian and Episcopalian to meet in one church. It is in some sort a relaxed presbyterian service. They have no written form of prayer, the service consisting of chapters of scripture, extemporary prayers, and a sermon, with psalms or hymns at intervals. The minister frequently reads his discourse, as in the episcopalian churches, and organs are often put up in the meeting-house. The prayers of those congregational ministers whom I have heard, have been of that general and tolerant nature, which embraces all sects and denominations of Christians, supplicating for the safety and welfare of all men, without respect of persons. Their discourses were generally of an evangelical cast, but devoid of all absurd tenets, dogmas, and denunciations. *Faith* was earnestly recommended, but the necessity of *good works* was strenuously enforced. It is possible that this denomination of Christians has arisen from the want of a sufficient number of

places of worship in the new settlements, which obliged many of the inhabitants, though professing various religious tenets, to assemble together in one meeting, and to form their prayers and discourses for the general welfare of the whole congregation, without touching upon the peculiarities of either party. In several towns and villages through which I passed, even Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists, assembled together in one meeting, but sometimes it was on condition that their respective preachers should perform service alternately.

The Americans, in the country parts, call their places of worship *meeting houses*, although they are built with steeples, in the manner of our churches. In the cities, those appropriated to the episcopal form of worship are always called *churches*. The old meeting-house of Marlborough is still made use of, so that the town has now three places of worship for congregationalists. The termination of their dispute, by building two instead of one, shews that they are not parsimonious in religious matters. It is surprising they did not put the subject to the vote; but if the voting had been carried on, as it was once in New Jersey upon a similar dispute, respecting the building of a new courthouse, they would probably have had no church erected at all.

The legislature of New Jersey lately passed an act, permitting the inhabitants of Essex county

to decide in the manner of an election, where a new court-house should be erected. The Newarkites wished to have the election in their town. The Elizabethites equally anxious to have it in theirs. But the latter, finding that it could not be accomplished in their favour, fixed on the geographical centre of the county. This election was to be general, and all the polls were to open and close at one time throughout the county. Certain arrangements were made that *cheating* should not extend beyond certain limits. Accordingly the polls opened, and at it they went heart and hand, with exertions unexampled. Both parties were sanguine, both calculated on the superior exertions of their riders. Men, women, and children, all voted, old and young. Those who could not walk, were carried, and those who were carried, generally voted *only once*. Horsemen and footmen; horses, carriages, waggon, carts, and wheelbarrows, all were employed, all running helter skelter, pell mell. The wind blew, the dust flew, the whiskey flowed, and all was confusion. At length night came, and the tumult subsided. The ballots were canvassed, and the result was, that the Newarkites had gained the election by a great majority; how great, is not now recollected, but some say it exceeded the number of legal voters in the county. The *Elizabethites* charged the *Newarkites* with having *cheated* beyond the contract. This was rebutted

by the *Newarkites*, who charged their opponents with having began first; and that the scandal was greatly magnified by the attempt being made at a distant and obscure poll, under the idea that it would not be detected; but that *they* being on the alert, and *knowing how such things were done*, had kept so good a look out, as to turn it to their own advantage. The conclusion was, that the losers petitioned the legislature to set it aside, on account of its being *corrupt*. A counter petition set forth that both parties had done their *best*. The legislature annulled the election, and determined to interfere no farther. In New Jersey it has been the practice for females to vote at elections, and their dress favoring disguise, it is said that some have repeated the vote without detection.

From Marlborough we proceeded on our journey through several neat towns and villages, and a well settled, rich, and fertile country. We were now within a few miles of Boston, and every thing around us appeared indicative of our approach to that rich, commercial metropolis. We had an agreeable ride through Cambridge, a kind of suburb to Boston, to which it is connected by a very long bridge across the river Charles. This town contains about 3000 inhabitants, several handsome seats, orchards, gardens, and pleasure grounds; three or four places of worship, a court-house, and the celebrated university of Harvard,

which is reckoned the best institution of the kind in the United States. This college contains a library of nearly 20,000 volumes, a good philosophical apparatus, and a respectable museum. The students amount to about 250, and professors for every branch of the sciences, are engaged to complete their education. The situation of Cambridge is extremely well adapted to such an institution: It is placed at a sufficient distance from Boston to prevent the students from having their morals corrupted by the vices of a populous city. It also contributes to their health, and the prosecution of their studies, by a clear, wholesome atmosphere, and calm retreat from the noise and bustle of a commercial town.

Through the whole of this journey of 240 miles, from New York to Boston I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which, from the manners of its inhabitants, the excellent order and condition of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, orchards, gardens, pasture, and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and valleys, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of English scenery.

Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity and rudeness of the American people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions,

but for myself, I must declare, in justice to the American character, that I experienced the utmost civility, and even politeness from the inhabitants, in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; and, wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness, or shadow of impertinence on any occasion; on the contrary, they were civil and obliging. The children would take off their hats, bow, or curtesy, as we passed along the road; and the men would frequently nod their heads, which, though it carried with it the appearance of familiarity, and certainly was not so graceful as the salutation of the French Canadians, yet I firmly believe it sprang entirely from an honest, well meaning civility. It must be confessed, that I saw but little of the character of the country people to the southward, and nothing of it in the back country, where the civilization of the New England States is said to be little known. But I only pretend to speak of what I have myself witnessed; and even if I had met with rudeness from *individuals*, or been cheated by a *sharp*, I should not be inclined to charge *the whole American people* with insolence and brutality, with roguery and imposition. But the Americans are a people like ourselves, who, conscious of the real liberty which they enjoy, boast of it as their greatest blessing.

In many men, and particularly the lower classes, this freedom, even in our own country, sometimes degenerates into rude familiarity ; but that philosopher must indeed be squeamish, who will not compound with a little rudeness to himself, for the solid acquisition of much substantial comfort and happiness to myriads of his fellow men.

Those travellers who visited the United States soon after the Americans had obtained their independence, were swayed by their prejudices for, or against that country. The French were enamoured with their freedom of sentiment and manners, so different to the slavish fear under which they themselves lived in France ; and were also enraptured with the polite attentions shewn them every where they went, on account of the assistance their nation had rendered to the States. This naturally biassed them in favour of the American people, and induced them to write such flattering accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The English travellers, on the contrary, could see nothing but rude familiarity, and brutal behaviour in the conduct of the people, and no doubt they had some foundation for their assertions ; for it was natural that the Americans should be elated with the victory they had obtained over their former masters, and that the lower orders should avail themselves of every opportunity to boast of their success in the presence of an Englishman. Many of the British subjects also left their own

country, under delusive prospects, to settle in America; and when they met with reverses, were too apt to return home full of spleen and inveteracy against the people and the country. If they had been the dupes of a few knaves, the American people were branded as *rogues*; and the rudeness, imperfections, and chicanery of *individuals*, were set down to the account of the *whole nation*. Sometimes they published their complaints to the world, and these becoming current, have tended to increase that animosity and disgust which the American revolution had engendered, and which were already too prevalent in England.

Since then a long peace has calmed the minds of the people, and agriculture, commerce, and the arts, have introduced a degree of civilization, which has, in some measure, recalled that politeness and urbanity of manners, which the violence of the revolutionary war had almost banished from the country. Allowances, however, ought to be made for a new country, where the people are thinly scattered over an immense surface of the earth. They have few opportunities of enjoying that social and friendly intercourse, which soften and polish the manners of a nation: where they do, in some degree, possess those advantages, as in the New England states, we find that they more nearly assimilate with ourselves. Allowance ought also to be

made for the peculiar character of their constitution, which allows them to riot in freedom of sentiment, and almost licentiousness of debate. The *scurrility of the press* is deplored even by themselves; and is unfortunately too much in the hands of *European traitors*, who have fled to America, to escape the punishment due to their crimes. On political subjects, the Americans are headstrong and violent: like us, they are noisy and blustering in their complaints against other nations. Among themselves, they are jealous of all encroachments on their liberties; and tenacious of their political opinions, even to a fault: but view them in private life; in their hours of relaxation, in the circle of friendship, and it will be found, that they do not merit the opprobrium that has been cast upon their character. When politics were not the subject of conversation, I could discern no distinction between a federalist or a democrat: but talk of the conduct of a Jefferson or Adams; of the English or French nations, and open war would immediately commence, not only between rival politicians, but between friends and acquaintances. Yet, why should *we* blame their conduct in this respect? We, who are for ever at issue, respecting the merits of the *ministry* and the *opposition*?—It is true, that our political sentiments are expressed in the public papers, with less of that coarse vulgarity, which cha-

characterizes the American prints ; but our editors frequently belabour each other with a quantum sufficit of *gentlemanly abuse*.

As to the lower order of the Americans, or labouring part of the community, much of their rudeness and coarse behaviour has worn off ; and there are few now, who are not as attentive and civil as those of Europe. But why should Englishmen be such sticklers for politeness and urbanity of manners in America, when the lower order of their own country have only, within these few years, emerged from a rude and barbarous conduct to foreigners, that was disgraceful to the nation ?—Indeed, complaints on that head, come with as ill grace from us, as they do from Frenchmen who have been fraternizing with the dregs of the populace, during the revolution. It is scarcely twenty years ago, that a foreigner could not walk along the streets of London, without being molested by the populace, who would hoot at, and ridicule him, for his dress ; and sometimes even add violence to their taunts and menaces. An instance of this kind, happened to a relation of mine, who during the American war, was taken prisoner by the French in India, and carried into the Mauritius, where he was confined upwards of four years. Having at length obtained permission to return to England on his parole ; he arrived in London, in the complete costume of a Frenchman,

which in those days was particularly remarkable. His long queue reached half way down his legs ; his hair powdered and frizzed, was covered by a small cocked hat. He wore a curious cut coat, with large broad stripes and plated buttons, nearly the size of a crown piece : with breeches, stockings, shoes, and buckles of singular fashion. In this dress, he was obliged, after landing from the vessel in the river, to walk through Thames-street, where he was immediately followed by a posse of carmen and porters, shouting and hooting at the "*French Mounseer*," as they called him. For some time he only turned round occasionally, and answered their abuse in the *French* language ; but this caused them to be more insolent, and one of them at length went up and jostled him off the curb-stone, and was preparing to use farther violence, when my relation seeing a large mob collecting round him, thought it was a good opportunity to punish the insolence of the brute. He accordingly appealed to the bye-standers, in *English*, stating that he was no *Frenchman*, but a countryman of theirs, and had had the misfortune to be taken by the *French*, and confined four years in prison, from which he was just released ; that he had not yet been able to procure an *English* dress, as he had but a few minutes before landed from the vessel ; and asked them whether it was generous to ill-treat their countrymen in distress ?

The mob, with all that vacillation for which they are remarkable, no sooner found that he was an "*Englishman*," than they applauded his speech, and immediately proceeded to take summary vengeance upon the insolent carman. They accordingly dragged him to a neighbouring pump, and in their zeal for administering justice, gave him a complete ducking; though but the moment before they had joined in the general shout against the "*French mounseer*."—" *Such is the lightness of your common men.*"—In those days, it will therefore appear, that foreigners had greater reason to complain of the brutal behaviour of the lower order of the English, than ever we have had to complain of the Americans; and the knowledge of this circumstance might at least make us look with a more favourable eye upon the faults of other nations.

The females of the New England states, are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and economy, that display the female character to the greatest advantage. The young women are really handsome. They have almost all fair complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. They have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. Nor did I see more instances to the contrary among the *young* women of America, than are to be met with in England. Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind,

in the modern style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, simple, and genteel ; usually consisting of a printed cotton jacket with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a coloured cotton apron or pincloth without sleeves, tied tight, and covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to be the prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners are easy, affable, and polite ; and free from all uncouth rusticity : indeed, they appear to be as polished and well bred, as the ladies in the cities ; although they may not possess their highly-finished education. Yet in the well settled parts of New England, the children do not want for plain and useful instruction : and the girls especially, are early initiated in the principles of domestic order and economy. At the taverns and farm-houses, where we rested on the road, we found the people extremely civil and attentive. We were treated with as much respect as if we had been at our own houses, and the landlord, his wife, and daughters, waited on us in the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a solitary instance ; it was general at every house where we stopped : neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from the reception I met with at taverns and other places of public resort ; but from my observations upon the people *in general*, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, whether they belonged to the highest or the

lowest orders of the community. I believe it is generally allowed, that for a traveller who wishes to make himself master of the real character and disposition of a people, it is not sufficient that he associates only with the *grandees* of a nation ; he must mix with the *plebeians*, otherwise he acquires but false ideas of the country and its inhabitants. “ The great mass of nations, says Dr. Johnson are neither *rich* nor *gay*. They whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the *streets* and the *villages* ; in the *shops* and *farms* ; and from *them*, collectively considered, must the measure of general prosperity be taken.” From these I have judged of the *real character* of the Americans ; and I found it as difficult to discover a single particle of *rudeness* in the behaviour of the men, as it was to discover an *ugly face* or *bad teeth* among the young women.

CHAPTER XLV.

Arrival at Boston—Agreeable Situation—Beacon Hill—The Park—East Boston—Longwharf. Market Places—New Hotel—Population of Boston—Religion—Manners of the First Settlers—Rigidity of Character—Governor Hancock—His partiality to Negroes, and Animosity to Theatres, satirized by the Echo—Visit to the Theatre and the Circus—Captain Girod. —Colonel Moulin—Captain de Frotte—Their extraordinary Escape from Fort Joux, in Franche Compté—Literature—Newspapers—Military Funeral—Manufactures—Contrast between the northern Merchant and the southern Planter—Visit to Bunker's Hill—Plymouth.

WE entered Boston about two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, 23rd April. The stage stopped at Lamphear's hotel, in Hanover Street, where Captain Crowninshield, his brother, and I alighted. As I intended to stay but a few days in Boston, I did not think it worth while to go to a private boarding-house, and therefore took up my residence at this hotel, which the Crowninshields' recommended to me as the best house in the town.

Early hours, I perceived, were prevalent among people of business in Boston, for we had scarcely

left the stage, when we sat down to dinner with upwards of 30 gentlemen. Here, as at other hotels in the States, the boarders in the house, and single gentlemen in the neighbourhood, take their meals at one public table, at a certain hour. Our dinner consisted of almost every thing the markets produced, and was served up in excellent order : there were also four or five waiters in attendance. After dinner, the Crowninshields' set out for Salem in one of the stages which runs between that place and Boston, a distance of 17 miles. These gentlemen, though rather dogmatical in their political tenets, were, notwithstanding, pleasant, sensible companions ; and after travelling with them for three days, I parted from their company, with reluctance. They pressed me very much to pay them a visit at Salem ; but I was prevented from accepting their polite invitation, by my anxiety to return to Canada as soon as possible.

I remained in Boston only six days ; it cannot therefore be expected that I can furnish a very full and detailed account of the town and its inhabitants ; but what little time I had, was spent in visiting every place worthy of notice, and observing the manners of the people.

Boston is an irregular-built town, situated on a peninsula, whose surface is broken by small hills ; and except where the isthmus appears in sight, seems completely environed by a beautiful river.

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The town of Boston cannot boast of much uniformity and elegance ; but with respect to situation, it is extremely beautiful, and well deserves the description which Young gives of a populous city.

—“ How wanton sits she, amidst Nature's smiles !
Nor from her highest turret has to view
But golden landscapes, and luxuriant scenes.”

From an elevated part of the town, the spectator enjoys a succession of the most beautiful views that imagination can conceive. Around him, as far as the eye can reach, are to be seen towns, villages, country seats, rich farms, and pleasure-grounds, seated upon the summits of small hills, hanging on the brows of gentle slopes, or reclining in the laps of spacious valleys, whose shores are watered by a beautiful river, across which are thrown several bridges and causeways. These bridges connect the minor towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, &c. with Boston, and are built of wood, upon a vast number of piers of equal height ; their length is from 2000 to 4000 feet. They are painted yellow, kept in excellent order, lighted by lamps, and have a foot-path on each side, railed in from the carriage way. There is a toll-gate on each side, and foot passengers passing out of Boston, pay one *cent*. which is something more than a halfpenny.

That portion of the town called West Boston, contains most of the dwelling houses of the gentry, and principal merchants. A number of elegant buildings of red brick, have within these few years been erected, and wide spacious streets, consisting of handsome private houses of similar construction, are yet forming throughout that end of the town. These streets are mostly in the vicinity of Beacon Hill, a rising ground of considerable elevation, situate behind the new state-house. On this hill a monumental pillar is erected, with a gilt eagle at the top, bearing the arms of the United States. On the pedestal of the column are inscriptions, commemorating the most remarkable events of the Revolution. This pillar is a miserable and paltry structure, being built of brick and plaistered over with mortar, the greatest part of which has been broken off by the wind and rain, and left the bare bricks exposed to view. It should either be repaired, or one more suitable to such a wealthy and enlightened city erected in its place. A handsome stone or marble column cannot surely be thought too costly to commemorate events which have raised their country to the rank of an independent nation, and established their liberties upon a sure and permanent basis.

The new state-house is, perhaps, more indebted to its situation for the handsome appearance which it exhibits, than to any merit of the

building itself. It is built upon part of the rising ground upon which Beacon Hill is situated, and fronts the park, an extensive common, planted with a double row of trees along the borders. The lower part of the building is constructed in a plain and simple style of architecture, with red brick, and surmounted by a large circular dome of the same materials, coloured yellow. The whole has a neat and ornamental appearance ; but if stone had been substituted for brick, it would have then been a structure worthy of admiration, and honourable to the people of Boston.

The Park was formerly a large common, but has recently been inclosed, and the borders planted with trees. On the east side there has been for many years a mall, or walk, planted with a double row of large trees, somewhat resembling that in St. James's Park, but scarcely half its length. It affords the inhabitants an excellent promenade in fine weather. At the bottom of the park is a branch of the harbour, and along the shore, to the westward, are several extensive rope-walks, built upon piers. At high water, boats and barges can be admitted between the walks, which are all roofed in, and have large brick warehouses at the eastern end. Considerable quantities of excellent cordage are manufactured at these walks, and form an article of exportation to the other states. In the street next the mall, at the upper end of

the park, there is a stand of hackney coaches, superior in every respect to vehicles of that description in London. The horses and carriages of some of them, are equal to the best of our glass coaches.

The other portion of Boston, which may, with propriety, be called the *Old Town*, is the seat of trade and commerce, and contains numerous streets, lanes, and alleys, crowded with stores, shops, warehouses, wharfs, and piers; taverns, coffee-houses, and porter-houses; insurance offices, banks, and state buildings; churches, chapels, and meetings. The extremity of this part of Boston is connected with Charlestown by a handsome bridge, similar to that which connects West Boston with Cambridge, but not so long.

Of late years considerable improvements have taken place in East Boston: towards the harbour an extensive range of lofty warehouses have been erected upon India wharf: they are built of red brick, with much neatness and uniformity. Offices for the merchants are below, and the upper part of the building is appropriated to the reception of goods. A short distance from these warehouses, to the northward, is Long Wharf, or Boston Pier, which extends from the bottom of State-street, upwards of 1,750 feet into the harbour. Its breadth is above 100 feet. On the north side of this immense wharf is a range of large warehouses, extending the whole length of

the pier. Most of the old buildings have been pulled down, and handsome warehouses, similar to those on India wharf, erected on their sites. The ground floors of these warehouses are occupied by wholesale or retail stores, merchants' offices, &c. The upper parts are appropriated to the warehousing of goods. At the end of this pier, there are upwards of seventeen feet water at ebb tide. On the south front of the warehouses there is a landing place of thirty or forty feet in breadth; but behind, on the north of the buildings, the landing-place is scarcely six feet wide. Both sides are generally occupied by the coasting vessels.

Along the water side there is a great number of other piers, which extend a considerable way into the harbour; these form as many open docks, or slips, which admit vessels of almost every size and draught of water, up to the very doors of the houses. Viewing this sight from an eminence, it has a singular and beautiful effect; the crowded masts and rigging of the vessels appear in the midst of the streets, and the colours of all nations are seen flying over the tops of the houses.

Several new streets, consisting entirely of large wholesale and retail stores and warehouses, have lately been built between State-street and the India wharf. Very few of the merchants dwell in these streets; they generally have private houses in West Boston, about the neighbourhood of the

Park and Beacon Hill. Boston is well paved, and has excellent foot-paths of flag stones. The streets, which in the old town are generally narrow and irregularly laid out, are for the most part clean and in good order. The markets are situated near each other, close to the water-side; and are supplied with every description of provisions in the greatest plenty, and at a moderate price. But they are crowded and confined by the surrounding buildings, and the narrow lanes and alleys in the vicinity. This, together with the number of shabby shops and alehouses in the neighbourhood, gives to this part of the town an unseemly appearance, which is still farther increased by the litter and confusion unavoidable in a market-place.

As the city continues to increase in population and riches, new markets will doubtless be opened in other parts of the town. Improvements are still going on; and if Boston increases as rapidly as it has done since the revolution, every part of the peninsula will be crowded with buildings.

On the south side of State-street, near Cornhill, a very lofty and extensive hotel is building, on a grand scale, under the direction of one of the principal merchants in the town, though I believe several others have shares in the concern. The person who is to manage the business is a Mr. Hamilton, who formerly kept a large hotel in

Montreal, where he actually became a bankrupt from keeping too good a house. He possesses that liberal and generous spirit which will not suffer any thing to be wanted or complained of; and, unfortunately, there was too little liberality in Montreal to recompense him for his well-meant endeavours to please. I took the opportunity one day of going over the building with Mr. Hamilton; the plasterers and carpenters were at work, and he expected that it would be finished in the course of three or four months. The house is seven stories high, and stands on a large extent of ground. It contains above 200 separate chambers for gentlemen; several long rooms for assemblies and dinner parties; an extensive bar and coffee-room below, with some smaller apartments for the use of the landlord and his family. This hotel, if properly conducted, will far exceed any thing of the kind in the United States, and perhaps be equal in accommodation, as it is already in size, to any house of that description in London. The old post-office in State-street, which stands before the building, is to be pulled down, and the business of the office removed to the hotel, which will then be viewed to advantage from State-street, and form a very noble ornament to that part of the town.

The population of Boston, according to the census of 1800, was 24,937; about three years ago it amounted to 28,000; and at the present

day is computed to be upwards of 30,000. The majority of the people are Congregationalists; the remainder consist of Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Universalists, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Sandemonians. They have twenty places of worship, of which *nine* belong to the Congregationalists, and *four* to the Episcopalians.

The inhabitants are distinguished for their domestic habits, regularity of living, integrity in their dealings, hospitality to strangers, strict piety and devotion, and respect for the moral and social virtues; upon which depend the happiness and well-being of a community.

The people of Boston, and of New England in general, were formerly remarkable for a punctilious rigidity of character, that differed but little from the manners of the Quakers. They were the immediate descendants of men who had fled from persecution in England, and, as if emigration had soured their dispositions, they, in their turn, became religious tyrants and persecutors, and committed the most extravagant outrages. In the course of time, these puritanical follies wore off with the increasing prosperity of their new settlements; and their frequent intercourse with men of more moderate principles, begat in them in a greater degree of toleration, and gave them a taste for the innocent amusements of polished society.

It was not, however, without a long and arduous struggle, that a theatre was erected, and plays introduced into Boston. In the year 1750, the Legislature of the province of Massachusetts Bay, passed an act to prevent stage plays, and other theatrical entertainments, as they tended to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt of religion; and in 1792 we find Governor Hancock recommending, in a speech to the Senate, the punishment of those who had violated the laws in this respect; for plays had been performed in Boston, under the title of "*moral lectures*;" but it seems that even that disguise was not able to smooth over what the Governor conceived to be immoral and dangerous to society.

This severity of Governor Hancock against the representation of plays in Boston, brought upon him the castigation of the writers in the *Echo*, who availed themselves of a ball which the Governor gave to the negroes of the town, after the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, to satirize his partiality to negroes, and his animosity to plays:

" And lo! where o'er the eastern shores
Bostonia lifts her haughty towers,
What motley scenes salute our eyes!
What wonders upon wonders rise!
There each succeeding day still brings
A mixture strange of various things.

* * * * *

There plays their heathen names forsake,
 And those of "*moral lectures*" take;
 While thus baptized they hope to win
 Indulgence for all future sin.
 Now Hancock, fir'd with patriot rage,
 Proscribes these morals of the stage;
 Claps Harper under civil durance,
 For having had the vile assurance,
 By interludes and plays profane
 Pollute the glories of his reign.

"Now prompt t'assert "*the rights of man*,"
 On nature's most extensive plan,
 Behold him to his splendid hall
 The noble sons of Afric call:
 While as the *sable* bands advance,
 With frolic mien, and sportive dance,
 Refreshing clouds of *rich perfume*
 Are wafted o'er the spacious room,
 With keen delight the sage surveys
 Their *graceful* tricks, and *winning* ways;
 Their *tones enchanting*, raptured hears,
 More *sweet* than music of the spheres;
 And as he breathes the *fragrant air*,
 He deems that freedom's self dwells there
 While *Cuffey* near him takes his stand,
 Hale fellow met, and grasps his hand—
 With pleasure glistening in his eyes,
 "Ah! *massa Gublernur!*" he cries,
 "Me grad to see you, for de people say
 "You lub de nigrur better dan de play."

In spite, however, of magisterial opposition, the theatre maintained its ground. Since then, the vast influx of riches into the country, produced by the extensive commerce which the people of

Boston have carried on with all the world, has brought with it, the fashionable manners of European cities, and in a great measure expelled the former severity of character peculiar to the people of New England.

If it be true, that until within these few years, *prostitutes* were almost unknown in Boston, and that at the present day their number exceeds one thousand, nearly a thirtieth part of the whole population—we may easily perceive the inroads which riches and luxury will make in the morals and manners of society. In New York, the number of *prostitutes*, and ladies living under the *protection* of gentlemen, amount, I am told, to a *sixteenth part* of the population of that city. I know not whether these estimates are founded on truth, as no *census* of that description of females has ever been taken : and I derived my information only from common report. At all events, it is certain that their number has greatly increased of late years ; and it remains to be seen, how far the *theatre*, and other places of *public resort*, may have operated in contaminating the *morals* of *society*, and contributing to the number of *unfortunate women*.

The Monday after my arrival, being the last night of the company performing at the Boston theatre for that season, I availed myself of the opportunity, and went to the house, in company with some other gentlemen from Lamphear's.

It was the benefit night of Mrs. Powell, one of the principal actresses; and unfortunately for her, it was a very rainy night, in consequence of which, the house was by no means full. The lower tier of boxes was, however, crowded with genteel people; but there appeared to be very little display of the beauty and fashion visible at New York. The theatre is about the size of Astley's amphitheatre; but very indifferently decorated, and badly lighted. The price of admission is very little less than that of the London theatres. One of our modern comedies was tolerably performed, and succeeded by a pantomimical olio, that was remarkable for nothing but bad dancing, miserable tricks, and paltry scenery. Mr. Usher was the principal performer in the comedy, and indeed the only one who displayed any degree of ability beyond mediocrity, though he is considered only as a second rate actor. A Mrs. Stanley recited the epilogue: I was told that she is an English lady of rank; but I do not remember the title: she is a favourite actress. Mr. Fennel who has lately retired from the stage was the principal performer; and considered by the Bostonians as equal if not superior to Cooper. He has since opened a classical seminary on the opposite side of the harbour for the education of young gentlemen preparatory to their going to the University.

There is also a circus or riding school in

Charlestown; and while I was in Boston, Breschard and Pepin's company of equestrians exhibited feats of horsemanship in that place. I went to view the performance one evening, in company with an officer of the British army who was also a resident at Lamphear's hotel. The building is constructed entirely of wood; of a circular form, and very extensive. It has an upper and lower tier of seats all round; and this night being for the benefit of Madame Breschard, the house was crowded to an overflow. The seats on the upper tier were a dollar, and those below, half a dollar. The equestrian company consisted of more than twenty persons, who were dressed in imitation of the French imperial guards. The performances commenced with manœuvring as a troop of horse on parade; after which, they performed some very dexterous feats, such as riding on their head, and on tip-toe; forming a pyramid of twelve or fifteen men on five or six horses at full speed. Madame Breschard also greatly distinguished herself; leaping her horse through large hoops raised several feet from the ground; and riding *astride*, in the dress of a mameluke. An exhibition of fireworks closed the entertainments of the evening.

The British officer, with whom I became acquainted at Lamphear's, belonged to the 101st regiment at Halifax: his name was *Girod*. He had been an officer in the French royalist army

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of La Vendée; which service he quitted at the peace of 1801. On the breaking out of the war, in 1803, he, together with Colonel Moulin, Captain de Frotte, and some other chouan officers, were arrested, and confined, by order of Buonaparte, in Fort Joux; situate in Franche Compté, on the frontiers of France and Switzerland: after a confinement of eleven months, they made their escape, by working through the stone walls of their prison; and got safe to Vienna. They arrived in England in 1805, and Captain Girod received a commission in the 101st regiment, stationed at Hallifax. I could not learn upon what business he had visited the United States; though, from some hints that he dropped, I understood it was of an official nature. He was on his return to Hallifax, having spent the winter at Washington, where he had been very intimate with Randolph, Key, Gardener, and others of the federal members of congress.

Boston contains several considerable book-stores; and many works are annually published in that city; but they are mostly from English authors. Original works, indeed, seldom make their appearance in the United States, except in the form of essays, magazines, and small periodical publications. A taste for literature is, however, rapidly diffusing itself over every part of the

union ; and Boston yields to no city in the States, for its extensive trade in books.

Several daily and weekly newspapers, and a few magazines and reviews are published in Boston. Like those of other towns, the newspapers are attached to the principles of the two parties, which at present divide the people ; and, in their political animadversions, they are by no means tender of the character of their opponents. In Boston, and most of the New England states, the federalists have a majority : in the other states, the parties are either nearly balanced, or the numbers are greatly in favor of the antifederalists.

There is not that assemblage of beauty and fashion to be seen in the streets of Boston, as is to be met with in those of New York. Yet the Bostonian ladies are not deficient either in personal charms or mental acquirements ; but they appear to partake more of the reserved and sedate manners of the English, than the ladies of New York, who possess somewhat of the lively flippancy of the French character, softened, however, by the becoming modesty of the English female.

The ladies of Boston do not possess such an agreeable lounge for shopping, as the ladies of New York, who, in the wide avenue of the Broadway, can display their fine forms to the

utmost advantage. The streets of Boston, where the principal shops and stores are situated, are narrow and confined, and in the neighbourhood of all the bustle and confusion of mercantile speculation. The difference of population between the two cities, as well as the manners of the people, may also, in some measure, account for the small display of beauty and fashion compared to that at New York.

I had an opportunity, during my short stay, of seeing one of their military funerals. The deceased was an officer of rank in the militia, though a very young man ; and being nearly related to some of the first families in the town, his funeral was numerously attended. All the volunteer companies were drawn out on the occasion, and marched in the procession with the body, followed by a string of generals, colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns belonging to the militia, in full uniform. After them came the deceased's friends, some in mourning, others in their usual dress ; the rear was brought up by upwards of fifty gentlemen's carriages, and hackney coaches, above half of which were empty. The governor of the state, Mr. Sullivan, was in his carriage, followed by a number of other gentlemen of rank. This procession, which, as near as I could judge, might contain about a thousand people, extended along three or four streets. I viewed it from State-street, and did not trou-

ble myself to follow it to its destination. I remarked that one of the volunteer companies was dressed in long white coats, red facings, white breeches and gaiters, and cocked hats, somewhat similar to the French uniform in the reign of Louis XVI. and adopted, perhaps as a compliment to their old friends and allies.

This stately funeral put me in mind of some observations of Mr. Austin, an American gentleman of Boston, in a work of his, entitled "Letters from London, in 1802 and 1803;" where he laughs at the gorgeous funerals of the English people; their cavalcades of mutes, mourners, mourning coaches, and nodding plumes; and pretending not to know the meaning of it, mistakes the hearse for a baggage waggon. It is possible, indeed, that he might be ignorant in this respect, as he evidently was in many others. He received, however, a smart retort from a man in the street, who said to him, when he asked what the procession meant, "*You may know one day, if you do not come to the gallows!*"

Mr. Austin having also seen written up at an undertaker's, "*Funerals performed,*" affected to believe that they were of a theatrical nature. In short, his remarks answer no other end than merely to shew that he can treat a solemn subject with ridiculous levity; and that, like an undertaker, he can be merry even at death's door. But, I am astonished that he should complain of

the parade and shew of our funerals, when they are so far exceeded by those of his own country ; at least in pride and ostentation, but not in decent solemnity. Except to very eminent public characters, the funerals in England are attended only by a few of the nearest friends or relatives of the deceased ; whereas, in the cities of America, hundreds of people are invited ; even strangers and others, who, perhaps, had never seen the deceased in the course of their lives, are all collected together, to follow him to the grave, and proclaim, by their *numbers*, his merit and virtues. If this does not savour of *ostentation*, I would ask for what purpose thirty *empty* hackney coaches paraded at the military funeral in Boston ?

The principal manufactures of Boston, are rum, beer, paper-hangings, loaf sugar, cordage, playing cards, sailcloth, wool-cards, spermaceti and tallow candles, and glass ; besides cabinet-work, coaches and carriages of every description ; hats, shoes, boots, and other articles of domestic use. The town is governed by *select men*, chosen annually ; with other subordinate officers.

Notwithstanding the Bostonians have considerably relaxed from their former rigid manners, and given into the gaiety and amusement of modern times, yet their scrupulous and devout observance of religious worship still continues with little variation ; and they perhaps afford beyond

any other people, the pleasing proof that social amusements and diversions are not incompatible with, nor need interrupt the more important and solemn duties which we owe to our Maker. Sundays are observed with the strictest decorum ; the town appears as if completely deserted ; and scarcely a person is seen walking the streets, except in going to, or coming from a place of worship. Indeed all the towns and cities which I have visited in the United States, are extremely exemplary in this respect, and present none of that noise, bustle, and driving about, so common in the streets of London on the sabbath day.

This strict observance of religious duties, disposes a stranger to judge favourably of the moral character of the people ; nor has he any reason to alter his opinion, until he hears of so many unfortunate females in the cities. They, however, may be a necessary evil in large communities, and perhaps interfere but little with the general character of the people ; yet, if their numbers are really so great as they are said to be in the United States, it can hardly be denied that a proportionate relaxation of morals must have taken place. At the same time it must be confessed, that the Americans have relaxed but little from that outward display of piety and devotion, which, though it may not *always* come from the heart, yet certainly conduces to the good order and well being of society. Hypocrisy is the

tribute which vice pays to virtue ; and those who assume its garb, must at least conduct themselves with *external propriety*.

There is a material difference in point of character between the people of the northern states, and those to the southward : there also exists a considerable spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between them. The former, (speaking in general terms,) are a plain, honest, and industrious people ; regular in their habits ; punctual in their payments ; and strongly attached to agricultural and commercial pursuits. Before the embargo, their merchants traded with all the world ; and the spirit of commercial enterprize had diffused itself in an extraordinary manner over those states. Their ships covered the ocean, and transported the commodities of their own country, and of other nations, to every quarter of the globe. A considerable share of their exports was furnished by their own portion of the union ; but the greater part was supplied by the southern states. The latter, however, had but few ships of their own, and cared not who were the carriers, so that they could dispose of their cotton, tobacco, and rice. They would have been equally satisfied to sell their produce to foreigners, and let them take it away in their own vessels, as to sell it to the northern merchants ; and it is this sort of policy which is said to guide

Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and others of their party even at this day ; but I cannot bring myself to believe that there is any foundation for such an assertion.

It is true the southern planter acquires his wealth not by the sweat of *his* brow like the New Englander, but by the labour of his *negroes*. He lolls at his ease in the shady retreat, drinking, smoaking, or sleeping, surrounded by his slaves and overseers, who furnish him with the luxuries of life, without the necessity of his leaving the piazza. The northern merchant, on the contrary, is strenuously exerting himself from morning till night ; exercising his faculties ; expanding his mind ; and enlarging his ideas by continual intercourse with people of every nation, and correspondence in every part of the globe. The planter is deprived of these opportunities of mixing with the world, and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the interests of states. Hence he supposes, that to raise a crop and sell it, sufficiently benefits the country ; nor can he conceive what difference it will make, whether it is taken away in a ship of his own nation, or that of a foreign state. He also looks upon the merchant or trader with contempt, as a mere plodding fellow, who is making a fortune by his assistance : he even hates him ; when by careful industry and economy, the merchant can leave off business, and become, by the aid of his superior wealth and abilities, a more im-

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portant personage in society than himself. Such are, in all probability, the causes which have created the existing spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between the northern and southern states; and which, if not quickly extirpated, may one day or other occasion a separation of the union. The American states may defy the world while they remain true to themselves; like the bundle of sticks in the fable, they cannot be broken so long as they are *united*; but if they *separate*, they will assuredly be destroyed in detail.

A few days before I left Boston, I took a walk to Charlestown for the purpose of visiting Bunker's hill, so celebrated at the commencement of the revolutionary war. The scene of action was more properly on an eminence called Breed's hill; as it was there that the Americans threw up their fortifications, and not on Bunker's hill, which stands at some distance from it. On this memorable spot, a monumental pillar, with an urn at top, has been erected to the memory of General Warren, who commanded in the redoubt on the day of action, and fell covered with wounds. The pillar was erected by the free-masons, of whose society he was a member. It is, however, but a paltry memento to the memory of such a man, being like that on Beacon hill, constructed of brick and plaster. It is al-

ready in a state of dilapidation, though not more than fifteen or sixteen years have elapsed since its erection.

The remains of the redoubt are still visible ; but will not be so a few years hence, as houses are now building very fast on that side of Charlestown : a small part only is inclosed round the pillar, and is said to be public property ; but it is a question whether even that small portion of this memorable spot, will be preserved from the unhallowed fangs of the builder. I met there, a man who fought on the day of action, under Generals Putnam and Warren. He told me, that till that day, he had never visited the spot since the engagement. He declared it was with difficulty he could recognize the place where he fought : he, however, recollected some parts, which he pointed out to me. At the time of the battle he was only nineteen years of age, and many that fought on that day were much younger. The American general ordered them to lie down and preserve their fire, while the British troops advanced up the hill, until they could see the whites of the soldiers' eyes. This was strictly complied with ; and at the moment that the troops thought themselves almost in possession of the redoubt, a murderous discharge of artillery and musketry opened upon them ; killed and wounded an immense number, and

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drove the rest down the hill in confusion. They however, rallied and returned again to the charge, and were the second time dispersed. It was not till the third attack that they were enabled to gain possession of the heights; and even then, it is said that they would have failed, if the ammunition of the Americans had not been exhausted: several parts of the fortification were gained only at the point of the bayonet.

After the Americans were driven away from this eminence, they disputed the possession of several others; and at length took post at a considerable distance on an height, which they had previously fortified, and where the main body of the American army was posted. Here their general regaled them with several hogsheads of beer after their fatigues.

About fifty miles from Boston, is situated the spot where the first colonists of New England landed in 1620. They were men who had quitted England on account of religion, and sought to find in the new world, that liberty of conscience which they were not allowed to enjoy in their own country. Their number did not exceed 120; and they arrived on the coast, it is said, without a fixed determination where to settle. Some writers, however, assert, that it was their intention to have settled on the Hudson river, or the country near it; but the Dutch hav-

ing formed a settlement there, bribed their pilot to carry them farther to the north, so that they fell in with the land about Cape Cod, and took shelter in that harbour. The harbour is good, but the country is barren and sandy. This was discouraging, but it was too late in the season to put to sea again: they coasted about in their boat, till they found a place more proper for a plantation. Thither they brought their ship, and determined to take up their abode, though the harbour was not so good as the former. This place, having a resemblance to the port which they had sailed from in England, they called New Plymouth. The rock on which the first colonists landed is still carefully pointed out to strangers. The sea had, since that time, thrown up sand over it to the height of twenty feet; but at an early period of the revolution the sand was cleared away, when the rock was found split into two parts: this was looked upon as an omen of the separation of the colonies from England. The smallest part was, with considerable difficulty, removed to the market-place of the town of Plymouth, where it now remains, as a memento of the landing of their forefathers, as well as of the memorable contest in which they obtained their independence. In the first instance they *fled* from the *chains* of despotism, and in the second they *broke* them. The

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view of Plymouth which accompanies this work, was taken from the sketch of an American gentleman, with which I was favoured. The memory of the landing of the first colonists of New England, is preserved by the inhabitants of the states; who have formed a society for the purpose of celebrating that interesting event every year.

CHAPTER XLV.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES and ANECDOTES of some of the most eminent PUBLIC CHARACTERS in the United States, and of those who have, at various periods, borne a conspicuous part in the politics of that country.

Thomas Jefferson — James Madison — John Adams — Aaron Burr — Blannerhassett — General Hamilton — John Randolph — Gardenier — Key — Albert Gallatin — Duane — Thomas Paine — Thomas Addis Emmett — Genet — Alexander James Dallas — Talleyrand — General Moreau — Madame Jerome Buonaparte — General Turreau — Colonel Amelot de la Croix — General Key — Robert R. Livingston — Joel Barlow — Chief Justice Jay — Hillhouse — Commodore Barron — Dr. Mitchill — William Cobbett — General Pinckney — William Pinckney — James Munroe,

MR. JEFFERSON.

THE character of this gentleman has been placed in such opposite lights, by his friends and

enemies, that it is difficult for an impartial person to ascertain which side is most entitled to credit. From one party he has experienced the grossest flattery; and from the other, the most malignant invective: by the one, he is described as the wisest and most virtuous of men; by the other, he is denounced as a traitor to his country. Now in a nation like the United States, where party-spirit and prejudice repeatedly burst asunder the strictest bonds of friendship, and even family union, facts will be exaggerated to suit the views of the contending parties; and where facts cannot be found, invention will necessarily supply their place. To hear both sides of the question, and to take the medium, is, in such cases, perhaps, the most likely method of coming at the truth; but in the conduct of public characters there will always be circumstances that must speak for themselves, independent of the flattery of friends, or of the calumniating prejudice of enemies. Without entering, therefore, into the cabals of either party, I shall endeavour to set before the reader, those plain facts and circumstances in the course of Mr. Jefferson's public career, that will best explain his real character, and shew whether he merits the applauses or execrations which have been so abundantly bestowed upon him.

Mr. Jefferson is a native of Virginia, and said to be between fifty and sixty years of age.

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In his person he is tall, and of slender make : possessed of a fresh complexion and of a clear and penetrating eye. His manners and deportment are modest and affable. An enemy to luxury and parade, he lives at Monticello, in the simple and negligent style of a man wholly devoted to rural and philosophical pursuits. When the sitting of Congress required his presence at Washington, he carried with him the same negligent simplicity. In the plainest garb, and unattended even by a single negro, he would ride up to his splendid mansion, tie his horse to the paling, and immediately receive the visits of the foreign ministers and others who had business to transact with him. This appearance of republican simplicity, so much praised by Mr. Jefferson's admirers, is, however, more the offspring of a philosophical spirit, than an unambitious mind. What cares a man of learning and research for dress or appearances ? he prides himself upon despising them ; but he has not the less ambition for that. So it has been with Mr. Jefferson, who upon various occasions, during his public career, while he carried the outward air of an unassuming patriot, was secretly employed in promoting his own aggrandizement.

With respect to the charge brought against Mr. Jefferson for deserting the government of Virginia at the most critical period of the revolutionary war, it has been flatly contradicted

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by some, and is at best but feebly supported by his opponents. At all events, he is not the first patriotic philosopher and orator, who when the enemy appeared, abandoned his trust and fled from the danger that surrounded him.

His resignation of the office of Secretary of State in 1794, previous to the western insurrection, is less favourable to his reputation, than even the abandonment of his post in Virginia, if we can put any faith in the intercepted dispatches of the French minister Fauchet. Speaking of the probability of the insurrection (which afterwards took place) Fauchet says, "Jefferson, on whom the patriots cast their eyes to succeed the president (Washington) had foreseen this crisis: he prudently retired, in order to avoid making a figure against his inclination in scenes, the secret of which will soon or late be brought to light." These instances (says an American writer) shew Mr. Jefferson to want firmness; and a man who shall once have abandoned the helm in the hour of danger, or at the appearance of a tempest, seems not fit to be trusted in better times; for no one can know how soon, or from whence a storm may come.

The great and principal accusation, however, against Mr. Jefferson is, that he promoted the revolutionary war, opposed the British treaty, and became the determined enemy of Great Britain, in order to cancel the debts which he

and his family owed to British merchants. This, if true, would certainly be the most serious charge that he has to contend with, inasmuch, as it would affect his character, not merely in a political, but in a private point of view ; and give a death-blow at once to every thing that could be said in favour of him, as an honest and virtuous man. But I am happy to say, that I never could trace this disgraceful charge to any satisfactory source : it seemed to rest merely upon the *ipse dixit* of his enemies, and is flatly contradicted by his friends. That there were some differences of opinion between Mr. J. and his creditors, respecting the payment of the *interest* of his debts during the war, is evident from a letter which was afterwards written by him, when minister at Paris ; and read in evidence at the federal court in Richmond, Virginia, in 1797. As it appears to me, that the contents of this letter completely exculpate Mr. Jefferson from the infamous accusation of his enemies, I take the liberty of presenting it to my readers.

Extract of a Letter, dated Paris, Jan. 5, 1787, written by Thomas Jefferson, to a British creditor of Mr. Wayles, whose daughter Mr. Jefferson married.

After expressing his anxiety to begin the payment of the debt, on the part of Mr. Wayles, he proceeds:

" I am desirous of arranging with you such just, and practicable conditions, as will ascertain to you the terms at which you will receive my part of your debt, and *give me the satisfaction of knowing that you are contented.* What the laws of Virginia are or may be, will in no wise influence my conduct. Substantial justice is my object, as decided by reason, and not by authority or compulsion.

" The first question which arises, is as to the article of interest. For all the time preceding the war, and all subsequent to it, I think it reasonable that interest should be paid ; but equally unreasonable during the war. Interest is a compensation for the use of money. Your money in my hands is in the form of lands and negroes. From these during the war, no use in profits could be derived. Tobacco is the article they produce ; that can only be turned into money at a foreign market.

" But the moment it went out of our ports for that purpose, it was captured either by the king's ships, or those of individuals. The consequence was, that tobacco, worth from twenty to thirty shillings the hundred, sold generally in Virginia during the war, for five shillings. This price, it is known, will not maintain the labourer, and pay his taxes. There was no surplus of profit then to pay an interest ; in the mean while, we stood in-

surers of the lives of the labourers, and of the ultimate issue of the war.

“He who attempted during the war to remit either his principal or interest, must have expected to remit three times to make one payment, because it is supposed that two out of three parts of the shipments were taken. It was not possible then for the debtor to derive any profit from the money which might enable him to pay an interest, nor yet to get rid of the principal by remitting it to his creditor. With respect to the creditors in Great-Britain, they mostly turned their attention to privateering, and arming the vessels they had before employed in trading with us: they captured on the seas, not only the produce of the farms of debtors, but of those of the whole state. They thus paid themselves by capture, more than the annual interest, and we lost more. Some merchants, indeed, did not engage in privateering: these lost their interest, but we did not gain it: it fell into the hands of their countrymen. It cannot, therefore, be demanded of us; as between these merchants and their debtors, it is the case where a loss being incurred, each party may justifiably endeavour to shift it from himself: each has an equal right to avoid it: one party can never expect the other to yield a thing to which he has as good a right as the demander; we even think he has a better right than the demander in the present instance: this loss has been

occasioned by the fault of the nation which was creditor. Our right to avoid it, then, stands on less exceptionable ground than theirs; but it will be said, that each party thought the other the aggressor. In these disputes there is but one umpire, and that has decided the question where the world in general thought the right laid.

“ Besides these reasons in favour of the general mass of debtors, I have some peculiar to my own case:—In the year 1776, before a shilling of paper money was understood, I sold lands to the amount of 4,200*l.* in order to pay these two debts. I offered the bonds to your agent, Mr. Evans, if he would acquit me, and accept of the purchasers as debtors, in my place: they were as sure as myself. Had he done it, these debtors would have been saved to you by the treaty of peace; but he declined it. Great sums of paper money were afterwards issued thus depreciated, and payment was made me in this money when it was but a shadow. Our laws do not entitle their own citizens to require payment in these cases, though the treaty authorizes the British creditors to do it: here then I lost the principal and interest at once. Again, Lord Cornwallis encamped ten days on an estate of mine, at Elk Island, having his headquarters in my house; he burnt all the tobacco houses and barns on the farm, with the produce of the former year in them. He burnt all the inclosures, and wasted the fields in which the crop

of that year was growing (it was the month of June) : he killed or carried off every living animal, cutting the throats of those that were too young for service : of the slaves he carried off thirty. The useless and barbarous injury he did me in that instance, was more than would have paid your debt, principal and interest : thus I lost it a second time : *still I will lay my shoulder assiduously to the payment of it a third time.* In doing this, however, I think yourself will be of opinion, I am authorized in justice to clear it of every article, not demandable upon strict right : *of this nature I consider interest during the war.*

“ Another question is, as to the paper money I deposited in the treasury of Virginia towards the discharge of this debt. I before observed, that I had sold lands to the amount of 4,200*l.* before a shilling of paper money was emitted, with a view to pay the debt ; I received this money in depreciated paper. The State was then calling on those who owed money to British subjects, to bring it into the treasury, where it was applied, as all money of the same description was, to the support of the war. Subsequent events have been such, that the State cannot, and ought not, to pay the same nominal sum in gold or silver, which they received in paper ; nor is it certain what they will do ; *my intention being, and having always been, that, whatever the state decides, you shall receive my part of your debt fully.* I am

ready to remove all difficulty arising from this deposit, to take back to myself the demand against the State, and to consider the deposit as originally made for myself, and not for you.

“ These two articles of interest and paper money being settled, I would propose to divide the clear proceeds of the estate (in which there are from 80 to 100 labouring slaves) between yourself and Kepper and Co.; two-thirds to you, and one-third to them; and that the crops of this present year 1787, shall constitute the first payment. That crop cannot be got to the warehouse completely, till May of the next year; and I suppose that three months more will be little enough to send it to Europe, or to send it to Virginia, and remit the money: so that I could not safely answer for placing the proceeds in your hands till the month of August, and so annually every August afterwards, till the debt shall be paid. It will be always both my interest and my wish, to get it to you as much sooner as possible, and probably a part of it may always be paid some months sooner. If the assigning of the profits, in general terms, may seem to you too vague, I am willing to fix the annual payment at a certain sum. But that I may not fall short of my engagement, I shall name it somewhat less than I suppose may be counted on. I shall fix your part at 400*l*. sterling annually; and as you know our crops of tobacco to be uncertain, I

should reserve a right, if they fall short one year, to make it up the ensuing one, without being supposed to have failed in my engagement ; but every other year, at least, all arrearages shall be fully paid up.

“ My part of the debt of Mr. Wayles' estate being one-third, I should require that in proportion, if I pay my third, I shall stand discharged as to the other two-thirds, so that the payment of every 300*l.* shall discharge me as to 300*l.* of the undivided debt. The other gentlemen have equal means of paying, equal desires, and more skill in affairs. Their parts of the debt, therefore, are at least as sure as mine ; and my great object is, in case of any accident to myself, to leave my family uninvolved with any matters whatever.

“ I do not know what the balance of this debt is. The last account current I saw, was before the war, making the whole balance, principal and interest, somewhere about 9000*l.* and after this there were upwards of 400 hogsheads of tobacco, and some payments in money, to be credited. However, this settlement can admit of no difficulty ; and in the mean time the payments may proceed without affecting the right of either party to have a just settlement.

“ Upon the whole then, I propose that, on your part, you relinquish the claim to interest during the war, say from the commencement of hostilities, to April 19, 1783, being exactly eight

years ; and that in proportion as I pay my third, I shall be acquitted as to the other two-thirds. On my part, *I take on myself the loss of the paper money deposited in the treasury.* I agree to pay interest *previous and subsequent to the war*, and oblige myself to remit to you, for that and the principal, 400*l.* sterling annually, *till my third of the whole debt shall be fully paid* ; and I will begin these payments in August of next year.

“ If you think proper to accede to these propositions, be so good as to say so at the foot of a copy of this letter. On my receipt of that I will send you an acknowledgment of it, which will render this present letter obligatory on me ; *in which case you may count on my faithful execution of this undertaking.*

“ I have the honour to be,

“ With great respect,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

This letter sets the private character and principles of Mr. Jefferson in a more favourable light than all the fulsome panegyrics which his party have ever lavished upon him ; and there can be no hesitation in saying, that if his propositions were acceded to by his creditors, and fulfilled by him, not the smallest slur can attach to his character, with respect to the payment of his debts ;

and that, consequently, the insinuations which have been thrown out as to his having refused his assent to the British treaty, because it compelled him to pay those debts, are false and scandalous inventions of his enemies.

In 1780 and 1781 Mr. Jefferson was governor of Virginia. During that period he wrote his notes on Virginia, at the request of the King of France. They were not intended for the press, yet they found their way into print. The picture of the American Indian is no doubt rather too highly coloured, as well as many other passages concerning the new world; this Mr. Jefferson would most likely have avoided, had he originally intended his work to have been published; but at that period it was the policy and interest of the United States to represent itself in the most favorable way to the French monarch. The author of the notes on Virginia was therefore guilty of a very pardonable fault, in setting every thing relative to his own country, in the best possible point of view. Policy, rather than truth, guided his pen on that occasion.

In 1783 he produced his form of a constitution, which was approved by many respectable members of the congress, particularly Franklin, Madison, &c. who were for a more limited and simple form of government than that espoused by General Washington and his party. The latter wished for a constitution modelled upon that of Great

Britain ; the former, steady to republican principles, were desirous of a pure *democracy*, in which the voice of the people should every where prevail. How far such a form of government would have suited the Americans, may now be pretty well ascertained.

At this period Mr. Jefferson was a member of Congress, and in March, 1786, we find him in England, where he no doubt arranged with his creditors those propositions which he made them in the course of the next year, while ambassador at Paris. His very presence in England must completely refute the calumnies of his enemies respecting the payment of his debts : for surely he would never have dared to shew his face in the country after endeavouring to cheat its merchants of their property.

During Mr. Jefferson's residence in France he was attentive to every thing that could promote the welfare of his country. He even availed himself of every opportunity to increase his own stock of information, that when he returned home, he might employ it for the benefit of those around him. His philosophical researches and discoveries, in various branches of science since then, have proved that his time was not spent in vain.

In 1789 Mr. Jefferson quitted his diplomatic functions in France, and returned to his native country. A new constitution having been formed

and agreed to by the several states, he was appointed secretary to the federal government under President Washington. In this situation he had many arduous duties to perform, particularly during the period of the French minister Genet's intrigues ; but he seems to have conducted himself on that occasion in the most irreproachable manner. His retirement from office in 1794 has, however, given rise to much invective against him ; and though the ostensible motive was said to be the improvement of his estate, and the regulation of his domestic affairs, it is generally thought that he withdrew himself to avoid an interference in those measures which, though he saw the necessity of them, yet were calculated to render him unpopular with his party. He also saw that the cup of humiliation was on the point of being presented to President Washington, and that he would most probably decline another election. Mr. Adams was the only one, except himself, likely to succeed to the presidency. The contest would therefore lay between them alone, and it was necessary that Mr. Jefferson should, at such period, strengthen himself in the good opinion of his party. Hence, when the suppression of the western insurrection, and other unpopular acts of the government necessarily took place, Mr. Jefferson, who, in the language of Fauchet, "*had foreseen these crises,*" was peaceably seated in his philosophical retirement ; and while the federalists

were losing ground. his party was strengthening its numbers.

In 1797 Mr. Adams succeeded to the presidential chair, and Mr. Jefferson to the vice-presidency. For the first two or three years Mr. Adams was popular, and the federal party numerous; but from various causes, which I have mentioned in another place, the antifederalists or democrats became so strong towards the close of Mr. Adams's presidency, that Mr. Jefferson was chosen at the ensuing election by a very considerable majority. His party now rose superior to their opponents, and the government offices were filled with them, to the entire exclusion of federalists, and federal principles.

The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson on that occasion, were expressed in his inaugural speech. Whether or not he has acted up to those professions, his administration of the general government for eight years will sufficiently shew. As his conduct during that period is not viewed in the most favourable light by the federal party in America, or by the people of England, I shall briefly notice such parts as appear to have given the most umbrage.

Mr. Jefferson is charged with partiality to the French government, and his conduct has, in a great measure, given rise to strong suspicions of that nature; but whether his apparent partiality arises from a love or fear of the tyrannical ruler

of that country, is somewhat doubtful. Yet it is certain, that he sent considerable sums of money to France, under the pretext of having purchased Louisiana and the Floridas; whereas, in fact, neither have been bought. The Floridas are not even claimed by the Americans, and are still in the possession of the Spaniards; and as to Louisiana, the United States have nothing more than a sort of commercial agency at New Orleans; for the city does not belong to them, as will appear from the following *curious* observations of an American writer:—"It is a *matter of mirth* what erroneous notions the *world* has relative to the cession of Louisiana to the United States. A thousand people imagine, at this moment, that New Orleans belongs to us; whereas New Orleans still belongs to his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain; it is comprehended in the tract reserved by him."

I dare say it is not so much "*a matter of mirth*" to the well disposed part of the American people, as this writer imagines. They must feel some repugnance at the government that has squandered away seventeen millions of dollars upon a pretended purchase, of which the limits are unascertained, and of which they have only the temporary possession of a small town.

New Orleans, though of little value in itself, yet is of great importance as a depot for Louisiana, and for the back settlements of the United States bordering on the Mississippi; and is of

more consequence to the Americans than any other part of the colony. Yet this city is not theirs, though the money has been paid to Buonaparte. This traffic looks very much like a juggle between his Corsican Majesty and the government of the United States, to deceive the American people, who would not willingly part with their money without some plausible pretext. It was perhaps *the buying off of hostilities*; for Mr. Madison declared to Mr. John Randolph, that "*France was in want of money, and that she must have some from the United States.*"

I should not be surprised if this transaction turns out like the land bubble of the state of Georgia; and that, like the Georgian government, Buonaparte will retain the money, but declare the sale illegal and void. What looks very suspicious in this transaction is, that the bill authorizing the purchase of the Floridas, &c. was passed in a *secret sitting* of the legislature. Such an insult to the people would not have been countenanced by an English parliament: yet the Americans are apt to imagine they possess a greater degree of freedom, patriotism, and virtue, than the English. The phantom, however, often pleases more than the reality of the thing. The Echo has smartly lashed, in the following lines, the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas, which may indeed be truly said to have been "*bargained for by sleight of hand.*"

" Among the deeds economy has wrought,
 High rank the num'rous tracts of land we've *bought* ;
 Our country's limits constantly extend
 O'er boundless wilds, and rivers without end;
 Nations are bargain'd for by *sleight of hand*,
 We soon shall purchase old Van Dieman's land.
 Beyond Cape Horn our speculations roll,
 " And all be ours around the *southern pole*."
 What, tho' no boundary to our views are set,
 And every bargain swells the public debt ;
 Unlike all other modes of gaining pelf,
 Before we're sued, this debt *will pay itself*,
 And though our title deeds, by strange mischance,
Instead of Spain, are signed and sealed by *France* ;
 The limits too, not definitely fix'd,
 Lie somewhere *this* and *l'other world* betwixt :
 For fear some quarrels should hereafter rise
 We've given our obligations for the price.
 I grant some minds of weak and fearful mould,
 Instead of buying, think we'd better sold,
 Lest, first or last, by some unseen mishap,
 So greatly stretched, *our union cord should snap*."

The opinions which the Americans also have
 of the French inhabitants of Louisiana is singular
 enough. One of their writers speaking of the
 increase of their regular army on the frontiers of
 Louisiana, says ; " That the additional force was
 necessary and politic ; that the creoles and French
 inhabitants of that country, have always been, and
 must be for many years to come, *governed with
 the fear of the bayonet* ! They have no rational
 idea of liberty even if they were *honestly* disposed."
 What a specimen this for the Canadians, should

a war ever take place between Great Britain and the United States.

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Jefferson during his administration, was swayed more by *fear* than a love of France. His great plan of government was economy, and a desire to remain at peace with all the world. The Americans have, for nearly twenty years, prospered beyond measure upon the troubles which have distracted the other parts of the globe. Riches have poured into their country, while other nations have been fighting for their very existence, or have sunk under the murderous fangs of an ambitious monster. Mr. Jefferson, if he had the smallest spark of virtuous patriotism in his bosom, could not but view with pleasure the happy state of his own country, flourishing in an unexampled manner, amid the downfall and crash of nations. I will do him the justice to think that he has viewed it in this light, and that he has been reluctantly dragged into the snares that have at various times been laid by the wily Corsican.

Anxious to preserve that state of things under which his country had so long prospered, he has perhaps succumbed to the tyrant farther than prudence should have permitted, and endeavoured to buy off hostilities by almost unjustifiable means. This seeming subservience to the views of France, has no doubt given rise to jealousy on our part, and created many of those difficulties which yet stand

in the way of an adjustment of the differences between the two countries.

Without pretending to decide whether England or America is in fault, though most impartial people are of opinion that both are, in some measure, to blame ; yet I cannot think so meanly of Mr. Jefferson's character as to suppose that he would have suffered his enmity to England, or his predilection for France, to involve the two countries in a war. It would have proved destructive to that economical system which is declared to have been his favourite plan of government ; and would have completely thrown America into the arms of France. The spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition, which *certainly* exists between the southern planters and northern merchants in the United States, have led people to suppose that Mr. Jefferson and his party, in laying on the embargo, have voluntarily submitted to a great sacrifice, even of their own property, in order to be revenged of their opponents, and of the British nation, and to ingratiate themselves with Buonaparte. Hence the embargo is held out as a retaliating measure against both belligerents, and is so considered by our government, yet it is roundly asserted that Mr. Jefferson's object in laying the embargo on their shipping, was for the purpose of annihilating the commerce of the States, and reducing the merchants and traders to agriculturists.

How this charge can be reconciled with Mr. Jefferson's known sentiments and actions during his administration, I cannot easily perceive. It is well known that the flourishing state of the treasury for the eight years he has been in power, has been derived *solely* from commerce. Why therefore he, or his successor Mr. Madison, who follows in his steps, should wish to annihilate such an easy, agreeable, and popular source of revenue, is surely unaccountable: but that the nation should quietly submit to such proceeding, would indeed be passing strange. The embargo, while it lasts, certainly annihilates every branch of foreign commerce carried on by the states; but it cannot be argued from thence, that Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison aim at the total destruction of commerce. It has, no doubt, been the source of much altercation with the belligerents, but the United States still continued to prosper; and though the merchants and the government grumbled, and vociferated their complaints against the English and French outrages, still they continued to fill their pockets and their treasury.

Hence it is difficult to conceive for what good purpose the American government can aim at the destruction of their commerce. During Mr. Jefferson's administration, it entirely paid the expenses of the nation, and diminished the national debt. Agriculture was relieved from the

burthens of the state, while commerce, which bore them all, prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations of its admirers. To destroy, therefore, this profitable source of revenue, would be to throw the burthen of taxation wholly upon agriculture, to which it is said Mr. Jefferson is warmly attached. Such a proceeding would argue, not only an ignorance of the true interests of his country, but even a want of common sense. Either, therefore, the accusation against Mr. Jefferson must be false, or his plans must be at variance with his inclinations, and with the solemn declaration which he made in his inaugural speech.

With respect to the embargo and non-importation act, which many believe to be the commencement of this system of politics, it must be confessed that appearances are greatly in favour of the assertions of the federal party. Yet if the destruction of commerce was solely the object of these measures, surely they would not be approved of by so many merchants. It is true they may be democrats, and they may feel much pleasure in revenging themselves of Great Britain, whose commerce and manufactures are materially affected by those acts : yet, with every allowance for their patriotic feeling on this head, it would suppose more than Roman virtue, to believe them capable of sacrificing their best interests merely to annoy their political opponents.

their own countrymen too ! Ask a democratic merchant, who has yet a fortune to make by commerce, whether he will give it up for ever, to gratify such a feeling, or to further Mr. Jefferson's *plans* for making the United States a *Chinese nation* ? There is not one who now supports that gentleman, or his measures as followed up by his successor, but would answer in the negative. Mr. Jefferson's great object is to encourage the agricultural interests of his country, in preference to commerce and manufactures. It is even said, that he would rather that foreign nations should take away the produce of the country in their own vessels, in the same manner as the Chinese trade with others, than that the Americans should be engaged in shipping, which he looks upon as the cause of all the differences that have taken place between his country and the belligerent powers of Europe. Such a sentiment is worthy of a philosopher, but not of a politician ; and I doubt much if the Americans would ever consent to abandon their shipping. It is this opinion, no doubt, which has given rise to the assertion that Mr. Jefferson wishes to annihilate commerce. This has gone abroad in order to depreciate his character, though every American, possessed of common sense, ought to know, that without commerce, and barter, agriculture could not exist to any extent beyond the mere demands of their own people. But that

shipping is not necessary to an agricultural nation, we have only to turn our eyes to the Chinese, who, without a single ship, trade with every quarter of the globe; and live undisturbed by the wars and disputes which afflict other nations. To wish to make America such a nation, is excusable in a philosopher,

“ Who would, with such perfection, govern, Sir,
To excel the golden age!”

Mr. Jefferson, it will be allowed, possesses great abilities; and I have no doubt that, for the most part, his actions have been influenced by a regard for the welfare of his country. It is, however, confessed, even by the warmest of his admirers, that when he invited Thomas Paine to America, “ *with prayers for the success of his useful labours,*” he committed a very indiscreet act; and there cannot be a greater proof of it, than the general detestation and contempt in which Paine is held by every respectable inhabitant of New York, where he resides. Not the most zealous partizan of Mr. Jefferson will notice him in public; and even those who are so lost as to admire his writings, are ashamed to be seen in his company. The conduct of the people in this respect is highly praise-worthy, and is a severe rebuke to Mr. Jefferson for having invited such an infamous character into the country. Mr. Jefferson also, by his patronage of

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Duane, the Irish editor of the Aurora, and giving him a colonel's commission in the new regular army that is raising, has considerably lessened himself in the esteem of the respectable part of the American people. His encouraging General Wilkinson in seizing unoffending inhabitants on suspicion at New Orleans, transporting them two or three thousand miles from their homes, and then setting them at liberty without a trial, because no charges could be substantiated against them, must also be considered as an arbitrary stretch of power, exceeding the limits authorized by the constitution. These indiscretions, coupled with his embargo and non-importation acts, and his pusillanimous fear of, or improper partiality to France, have not only tended to diminish his popularity, but have sunk the American character in the eyes of Europe. Mr. Jefferson's party has yet a majority throughout the country, and he has quitted the presidential chair with eclat; but I question whether he retired with "*the reputation and the favour which brought him into it.*"

MR. MADISON.

THIS gentleman, who is now President of the United States, is considered as the pupil of Mr. Jefferson. He was but a youth at the early part

of the revolution, yet was actively employed under his great leaders, Franklin, Jefferson, and others, in promoting the views of the republican party. His name appears as one of the deputies from Virginia in 1787, for the purpose of forming a new constitution; after which he was variously employed in the subordinate departments of the government, particularly during the secretaryship of Mr. Jefferson in 1793, when he brought forward his project of a *commercial discrimination*, for the purpose of imposing heavier duties on foreign goods, and promoting domestic manufactures. The French minister, Fauchet, says, that Mr. Jefferson was the real author of the proposition thus introduced by Mr. Madison: at all events it is certain, that the former gentleman, in his capacity as secretary of state, had previously made a report to Congress on the subject of commerce, in the autumn of 1793.

In that report, Mr. Jefferson proposes the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and certain restrictions upon foreign commerce, particularly upon that of Great Britain, who, it seems, had imposed high duties on some of the American productions, and excluded others altogether from her ports. At that time there was no treaty of commerce between the two countries. Mr Madison's proposition was therefore

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brought forward rather as a measure of retaliation than to favour any of the views of the French faction; though, in some measure, it unavoidably had that effect; consequently it brought down the violent opposition of the federal party, and was ultimately negatived. Every country, however, possesses a right to regulate its commerce in whatever manner is most to its own advantage. Great Britain had done this, and it was proposed that America should do the same; nor can I see in what shape either Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison can be charged with partiality to France on that score. The federalists, however, persisted in the opinion, that "their real object was to promote and foster the languishing manufactures of France, by an exclusion of those of Great Britain, at the expense of the United States." Fortunately for both countries, a treaty was shortly after concluded by Mr. Jay, who had been appointed envoy to England for that purpose; and thus the commerce and productions of each nation were put upon a reciprocal footing, without resorting to unpleasant and irritating measures.

From that period until he became secretary of state in Mr. Jefferson's presidency, Mr. Madison bore no very conspicuous part in public affairs; but on his entering upon that important office, his name became familiar to all who interested themselves in the affairs of America, and

the two great belligerent powers of Europe. The repeated disputes, and consequent explanations and negotiations which have taken place between the three nations for several years past, and which are as far from an amicable adjustment at this day, as they were five years ago, have certainly given Mr. Madison full employment in his official capacity, and made him known to the world in the character of a diplomatician. The abilities which he has displayed, are of no mean stamp; but he has exhibited, in his diplomatic style of writing, a studied obscurity, and an intricate verbosity which seem to carry with it a desire in the writer to puzzle, perplex, and prolong the discussion of a business, which ought rather to have been candidly, fairly, and briefly stated, in order to its being brought to an immediate adjustment.

It has confessedly been the policy of Mr. Jefferson, and is also the policy of Mr. Madison his successor, to negotiate rather than fight: hence we have an elucidation of the motives which have hitherto baffled the attempts of the British government to settle our disputes with America; for had such a settlement taken place as we desired, the United States would inevitably have been plunged into a war with France. This it has been Mr. Jefferson's policy to avoid; in doing which, a shew of hostility was necessarily obliged to be kept up towards England.

Whether America has acted wisely in so doing, is a question which principally concerns herself. Her commerce is already annihilated by the embargo; from which she suffers more than either of the belligerents. If she has really done this to avoid a war with either party, it certainly is the severest act of self-denial, and the greatest proof of a peaceable disposition that have ever been exhibited by any nation in the world. Instead, therefore, of branding the Americans with ignominious epithets, we ought rather to admire their fortitude, patriotism, and virtue.

But there happens to be two parties among the people of that country; and what one affirms, the other contradicts. These parties nearly divide the nation; the strongest of course governs, and the weakest, though professing contrary sentiments, is obliged to submit to the will of the other. Thus, in the present instance, the ruling party approve the embargo which they have laid on, and their opponents execrate it. In the meanwhile, if we cannot obtain a fair and impartial settlement of our differences with America, it is better that we should suffer even our present privations, than enter into a war with that country, which would at once cut off every prospect of an amicable adjustment, and perhaps completely annihilate every spark of friendship which still exists between the two nations. Though the Americans are obstinate, yet they do not desire war

with England ; and stimulated as they have been by the numerous agents and emissaries of France, they have endeavoured to avoid such a dreadful alternative. Upon the same principle, also, they have avoided entering into hostilities with that nation ; in doing which, they have been compelled to succumb to the whims and caprices of the wily Corsican, whom they well knew would not exhibit the patience and forbearance, which have been displayed by the British government.

In the course of the disputes between the two parties on their differences with England and France, they have generally defended the proceedings of that nation to whom they were attached from political or party motives ; but this contest has been carried on chiefly by newspaper politicians, and a few factious demagogues, mostly French or British renegadoes, whose inflammatory writings in favour of *French principles* have been imprudently patronized by the democratic Americans, and brought upon their party the severe, but just animadversions of the federalists.

As to the great body of the American people, I firmly believe they are attached neither to England nor France, farther than their own interest leads them : or if any preference does exist, it is in favour of England, with whom they traffic, to a greater extent than any other nation in the

world; and with whose interests their own are so closely blended.

Their peculiar form of government, however, renders them liable to be divided in favour of one or other of their principal statesmen, who offer themselves as candidates for the presidency. Hence they become split into parties, and range themselves under their favourite leaders. Europeans settled in the country, as foreigners or adopted citizens, naturally attach themselves to that side which is most congenial to their political sentiments; and the imprudent length which many of them have gone in divulging their opinions, have not only disgraced those who were connected with them, but have injured the American character in the eyes of foreign nations.

An American writer in reviewing Mr. Moore's "Epistles, Odes, and other Poems," descants with much truth and justice upon the false estimates which the English people, in particular, form of the American character.

"All ranks of people in Britain," says that writer, "from the prince to the peasant, appear to be most profoundly ignorant of our situation, both individually and collectively. Not even the British statesmen form ought bearing the least resemblance to a correct notion of our actual condition; and the ambassadors sent out to America from Britain, instead of searching into the character of the people, are more employed

in tattling and gossiping at tea parties and routs.

“ People are wrong in supposing the Americans are *really* divided. In 1798 they one and all rose against the French, and in 1806 against the English aggressions. We speak not now of the present Jacobin administration, for it is the peculiar character of Jacobinism to degrade the national character, and to palsy the national spirit, over whom it spreads its deadly influence. It would be unfair to draw any inference of the English character, from the miserable, inefficient, and shallow administration of Addington; give us therefore the same judgment you require of us.

“ Mr. Moore objects to us that we are traders: if this is a crime, England has it in common with us. Trade was necessary to pay our debts after a destructive war; besides man is a trading animal; his whole life is one continued scene of bartering and exchange. Trade is the great cement of society, it binds individuals and nations together by the indissoluble tie of their mutual interests, their own reciprocal advantage: and he who affects to speak contemptuously of commerce and commercial men, only exposes his own ignorance of all the moving springs of human action; of all the main sources of national prosperity and power.

“ We are reproached by Mr. Moore for having

thrown off the British yoke, but all the best men, and greatest statesmen, with Lord Chatham and Burke at their head, were convinced that we were fighting for British liberty on American ground. That in asserting *our rights* we defended the rights of the people of Britain, which together with ours were put in jeopardy by the accursed machinations of the *secret cabinet* of the "*Buté junto.*" To us therefore are the British people indebted for a portion of the liberty which they now enjoy as the necessary consequence of the successful issue of our contest, with their nefarious and unprincipled administration. We have established an honorable independence, and planted the germs of a mighty nation.

" Mr. Moore says, that we are made up of iniquity and baseness; but he will find that seven-tenths of the disorderly rabble are Europeans. The generality of native Americans are remarkable for the sobriety of their habits, and the enterprising industry with which they go forward to the amelioration of their condition. The country possesses physical capabilities of greatness, and of wealth, without limits, and beyond all bounds; she has a territory which is spread out to an almost interminable extent, and fertile in every production conducive to the necessities and gratification of animal nature; her navigable rivers, her capacious and conve-

nient ports, and the broad blue bosom of the Atlantic main which connects her with the kingdoms of Europe, all give her the means of acquiring the most ample and permanent wealth.

“ In the United States, our citizens are free. *All* are eligible to the highest offices of the government, without respect of persons : merchants, farmers, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, mechanics, labourers ; all are allowed the privilege of representing their fellow men in Congress, if their virtue or talents entitle them to the confidence of their countrymen. The yoke of the government is easy, and its burthen light. There are few taxes, and those are levied in the easiest manner ; our statesmen return to private life ; our peasantry are bold and hardy, independent and active, and possessing generally landed property. In the towns and villages, our labourers (excepting Europeans) are industrious and orderly ; our army consists of a national militia, taken from all ranks without distinction, and exercised at stated periods ; a few regulars are stationed on the frontiers ; our commerce is extensive, and rapidly augmenting ; our manufactures are few, and those chiefly of the rougher kinds. We should deplore the premature introduction of manufactures into this country, because they are almost universally the nurseries of vice, of disease, of misery, and death.

“ Our toleration of all religious sects is un-

bounded; no sect labours under any political restriction, or civil proscription; to all of them, the doors of the legislature assembly are opened. Our professional establishments are respectable and improving. At present, from the thinness of our population, one man must exercise several callings, as the physician, surgeon, and apothecary; the same applies to lawyers; one man exercises the functions of barrister, special pleader, and attorney. As yet, there are no distinct and separate bodies of men, exclusively devoted to the study of politics, or the fine arts, or general literature; for these are the fruits of a country long established, with a full population, great individual wealth, considerable diffusion of property, much leisure and refinement. Yet there are men in the union who unite these advantages, but *great* occasions alone call forth *great* talents.

“ To preserve her advantages, America should continue her present form of government; free, simple, unexpensive, unostentatious, useful, great: to be cautious how she facilitates the means of naturalization to *foreigners*, lest by admitting to the rights of citizenship, the sweepings and dregs of Europe, she deprive her own children of their political inheritance, and involve the land in all the horrors of jacobinism, anarchy, and bloodshed: to promote the arts of peace, yet be prepared for war: to cherish ge-

nus and knowledge in arts, literature, and science."

The reviewer is extremely severe against Mr. Moore, and says that "to the honour of America the second edition of his poems, lies a mere burthen upon the publisher's hand, who cannot dispose of a single copy."

The same writer, speaking of the impressment of American seamen, by the British ships of war, acknowledges that protections are indiscriminately granted to foreigners in the American service. "It must not be forgotten," says he, "that certificates bearing testimony of a seaman's being an American citizen are very easily obtained by a little *hard swearing*. A dollar and a false oath very often transform a foreigner into an American; and if this ready-made countryman of ours be impressed into a British ship, we clamour loudly about the cruelty and injustice of British naval officers.

"Not many months since, an English lad not quite nineteen, who had deserted from a British man of war, wished to go out from New York to the East Indies, as seaman with an American captain. The captain represented the danger of his being impressed by the British, and advised him at all events to go and get a certificate of his being a *native American*. The seaman followed this advice, and returned within a few hours, flourishing a certificate testifying that he was born

in America. The captain asked him how he got it? The seaman told him, that he went into the street and found an Irishman whom he asked to go along with him to the proper officer, and swear that he was born in America, to which the Irishman agreed, and the sailor got the certificate. The captain asked him how much he gave the Irishman? Two dollars, says the sailor. That was too much, replied the other, you should have got him to do it for half. "Why," says the sailor, "I tried to beat him down to a dollar, but he insisted upon it, that *two dollars* were little enough in all conscience for a *false oath*, and that he would not perjure himself for less!"

Speaking of the probability of a war between England and America, he observes, that "nothing is to be feared from an invading army, as it would be useless, and must end in the destruction of the men who are debarked. No army could act effectually; and the woods would be beset with riflemen: nor would the British have occasion to land a single man upon our coasts; the bombardment, and laying in ashes of all our principal towns could be effected with the utmost ease; because they are entirely defenceless. But this would be a wanton and unnecessary outrage, and the British would most effectually insure all the advantages of the war, by blockading all our ports, by destroying all our

foreign commerce; which would abundantly enrich them and make us poor indeed. The foreign commerce destroyed, government must derive its revenues from the farmers; and in what must they pay the taxes? will it be the rude produce of their land? will the executive subdue the enemy with *potatoes* and *turnips*? The government may issue its paper money; but I think after the example of the depreciation of paper-money, and its consequences during the revolutionary war, the people will not be very ready to place much confidence in it. Foreign loans she cannot raise; and the sequestration of British property will be retaliated. In short, America has every thing to lose, and Great Britain nothing to gain!"

Such are also the opinions of all men of sense in the United States. It would indeed be a lamentable event were the two countries to be again involved in a destructive war, which could benefit neither, and must be highly ruinous to both. It would be poor consolation to us, that we had destroyed the commerce of that rising country, when we had perhaps *ruined* ourselves in the attempt, and converted the Americans into eternal enemies. If we think to sever the union, and to take the New England states once more under our government, we shall find ourselves greatly mistaken; for any attempt of that kind would only tend to reconcile their differences

among themselves, and join with more unanimity against us. "Differences," says Dr. Johnson, "are never so effectually laid asleep, as by some common calamity. An enemy *unites* all to whom he threatens danger."

No form of government in the United States, can be better adapted to our interests than the present: it insures peace with other nations, and lays claim to no other aggrandizement than that which is effected by fair commercial exertion. It would be an unfortunate event for us, if the different states were to fall out among themselves, and dissolve the union; for the French would be more likely to get a footing to the *southward*, than ever we should to the *northward*. Philanthropy might indeed weep, if such an event was to take place, for that fine portion of the American continent, would, if divided into separate governments, become distracted by jealousies, and fall a prey to the intrigues of foreign nations, which might ultimately lead to their subjugation.

I have, however, too high an opinion of our government to think that they would ever enter upon a war with America, but with the most heartfelt regret. They must know and feel the value of her friendship, and that a war would inevitably throw her into the hands of France. I should also hope that there is no *real* American who would plunge his country into a war

with us, but upon the most unavoidable necessity ; nor that would be vile enough to attempt to dissolve that union of the States, which has been so happily cemented by the great Washington. Were there one to be found, who could be guilty of such baseness, I should be inclined to say with one of our poets—

“ Blast the traitor
And his pernicious councils—who for wealth,
For power, the pride of greatness, or revenge,
Would plunge his native land in civil wars !”

JOHN ADAMS.

It is one of the misfortunes of a statesman's life, that he never can possess the unqualified approbation of the public ; for there ever have existed, and always will exist, a contrariety of sentiment, and difference of opinion among people, as to the abilities of their rulers. A man in public life may possess what is called popularity, which apparently carries with it the approving voice of the whole, but that is far from being the case ; and it has frequently happened, that the most popular character has been compelled to drink the bitter cup of humiliation to the very dregs. This is too often occasioned by a factious spirit of opposition on one part, and a capricious desire of novelty on

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the other. His enemies endeavour to deprive him of his authority, for the purpose of getting into power themselves; and his friends, satiated with the contemplation of his virtues, or tired of their subservience, are anxious to set up a *new idol* in his place. Thus it is, that between friends and enemies, the man in public life, after enjoying years of popularity and applause, often retires from his post with diminished favour and reputation. This heart-rending humiliation is often experienced in those countries where public men are obliged to court the approbation of the multitude, rather than that of the sovereign. In republics they have to study the pleasure of the people only: in limited monarchies they have to look for approbation of their measures to the king as well as the people: but in despotic monarchies it is sufficient that "*LE ROI LE VEUT.*" Since the establishment of an independent government in the United States of America, there is no country perhaps, with the exception of revolutionary France, where the caprice and vacillation of the people have been exhibited in a greater degree than in those states. They have been tossed to and fro, and almost torn to pieces by a variety of factions at different periods; and are at this day separated into two great parties, each of which are subdivided into smaller factions, under their particular leaders, who are severally aspiring to the presidency. The great Washington,



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whom they and all the world at one time united to applaud and honour, experienced the frowns of fortune at the close of his public career : he retired from the presidential chair just in time to avoid the disgrace of losing the next election. The subject of the present memoir, John Adams, who was one of the foremost in the cause of liberty, lost the high honour of a second election ; and Mr. Jefferson, though fortunate enough to leave behind him a successor *after his own heart*, yet retired from office with diminished lustre : he would never have been elected again.

The origin of the two parties may be dated from the period of adopting the new constitution. Peace had no sooner been restored to the country, than the Americans perceived the defects of their existing government. The powers of Congress were too limited ; it was even incapable of enforcing obedience to its own laws ; for the confidence which had been reposed in it by the people during a season of danger, gradually subsided, and their zeal for the common cause became subservient to their own private interests.

To remedy these evils, a new constitution was proposed and adopted in 1787 and 1788. It did not, however, pass without warm debates, and even violent opposition ; but it was at length carried, upon the whole, by a considerable majority. The friends of the constitution called themselves federalists, and distinguished their opponents by

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the name of antifederalists. The former party, with the best intentions of giving the United States a free republican form of government, yet were anxious to model it upon the constitution of England, at the same time rejecting the exorbitant powers of the monarchical and aristocratical parts of that government. The opposite party, on the contrary, were inclined to a more limited form of government, which should put greater power into the hands of the people, and circumscribe those of the executive. Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and other leading characters, espoused this mode of government, as most suitable to an infant country, and more likely to preserve the liberties of the people, in defence of which so much blood had been shed. They however submitted to the sense of the majority, which was considered as the voice of the people; but several amendments were proposed and admitted, by which the constitution was rendered more palatable to the dissenting party, and tended materially to render the great body of the people satisfied with the new government.

The leaders of the federal party consisted of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jay, Ellsworth, and others, who at that time possessed the almost unanimous confidence of the nation, notwithstanding the difference of opinion that had been expressed respecting the merits of the new constitution. It was therefore by general consent that

Washington was elected president for four years, and Adams vice-president. So little, however, do political parties adhere to their original principles, or act from *pure disinterested* motives, that the antifederalists, though they submitted to the authority of the new government, yet immediately formed themselves into a party in opposition to the men who administered that government.

The contest was not now to preserve the liberties of the people; it was for place and power : and like our ministry and opposition, the federalists and their opponents were struggling, the one to retain, and the other to obtain "the loaves and fishes." I must, however, do the Americans the justice to say, that the emoluments of office could not be a very tempting consideration with them, since the salaries of the government people of that country are barely sufficient for their support. Ambition was their *foible*, and power their *object*. The character of General Washington, however, was superior to either, and even his enemies allow, that it was with reluctance he quitted his retreat on the banks of the Potomac, to take upon himself the responsible duties of chief magistrate. Like the Roman Cincinnatus, he had retired from the fatigues of war, to the bosom of his family, and the avocations of his farm. There he sought that repose which was all he asked, after having performed the most essential services for his coun-

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try : but no sooner did the voice of the people call on him for further aid, than he hastened to comply with their wishes, and display in the cabinet the wisdom which he had before exhibited in the *field*.

The rival leaders and their partizans were no sooner marshalled in political array, than the people proceeded to range themselves on that side most congenial to their sentiments or interests. Many, no doubt, acted from an honest feeling and principle ; but more, in all probability, suffered themselves to be led away by the first *luminous orator* that caught their ear. " Of all kinds of credulity," says a celebrated writer, " the most obstinate and wonderful is that of political zealots ; of men who, being numbered they know not how, or why, in any of the parties that divide a state, resign the use of their own eyes and ears, and resolve to believe nothing that does not favour those whom they profess to follow."

The antifederalists had long before accused the opposite party with being devoted to the interests of England, and of even being in her pay. The federalists, in their turn, accused their opponents of partiality towards France, and a desire to overturn the constitution. Hence arose the idea which foreigners have, that the Americans are divided into a French and English party. The union, however, was going on tolerably well,

trade and commerce revived with the establishment of the new government ; public credit was restored ; men once more slept in safety, and once more had encouragement to be industrious. In short, notwithstanding the efforts of the opposition party, every thing seemed to promise a long and uninterrupted course of happiness to the nation, when the French revolution began that chastisement which the Ruler of nations has justly inflicted, and is still inflicting, on a degenerate and impious world. The first dawn of the French revolution was received in America with raptures, particularly by the party out of power : indeed, numbers of the federal party, who viewed the revolution in a philanthropical point of view, also rejoiced at the liberty which the French had obtained, and joined the opposite party in their congratulations on that happy event. The same honourable sensations were felt in England, and there were few who did not rejoice at the emancipation of an enlightened people from the tyrannical yoke of a vicious government : but when France became a prey to all the frightful horrors of anarchy and civil war,

—“ When, like a matron, butcher'd by her sons,
And cast beside some common way, a spectacle
Of horror and affright to passers by,
—She bled at every vein ;
When murders, rapes, and massacres prevailed ;
When churches, palaces, and cities blazed ;

When insolence and barbarism triumphed,
And swept away distinction ; peasants trod
Upon the necks of nobles : low were laid
The reverend crosier and the holy mitre,
And desolation covered all the land ;”

when this consuming fire threatened to destroy every thing that was valuable in society, and was about to extend its ravages to every quarter of the globe, it then became the duty of every honest man to endeavour to check its progress. In England its all-devouring flames were happily quenched by the firmness and vigilance of the government ; but on the continent the means opposed to it being too feeble, almost every state in Europe fell a prey to its violence. America had but just emerged from a long and painful conflict ; and fortunately for her, the majority of the people felt but little inclination to renew the scenes of devastation and carnage which had so recently convulsed their country ; in fact, there was but little for the revolutionary mania to work upon. The American government had been recently modelled upon the purest principles of republican freedom, yet the jacobinical principles of equality, and that vicious system of morality, which sanctions the foulest deeds for the attainment of a good end, caught a strong hold of the minds of the dissolute and depraved, and likewise of that party which had opposed itself to the existing order of things.

The antifederalists received Frenchmen of every description, however vile their characters, with open arms. Emissaries of the jacobin government of France poured into the country, and Genet, the French minister, was intriguing for the purpose of involving the States in a war with England. The antifederalists now carried their animosity to their opponents too far, and justified by their conduct in favour of jacobinism and French revolutionary principles, the animadversions which were heaped upon them by the federalists. The latter no longer called them antifederalists, but democrats, jacobins, and traitors, and the animosity between them proceeded to the greatest lengths. The spirit of party was excluded from no class of society; political intolerance proceeded to the extreme; even frequently in the same dwelling it was found to be the greatest; and the most disgraceful and hateful appellations were mutually bestowed on each other. The press teemed with scurrilous language; and pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines, were loaded with personal abuse, and mutual recriminations.

The spirit of faction at length became so violent, that strong measures were resorted to by the federalists, who were then in power. Genet, the French minister, was deprived of his functions; Edmund Randolph, who afterwards intrigued with Fauchet, (Genet's successor) was disgraced;

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and Mr. Jefferson, after serving the office of vice-president for a short period, finding his measures opposed in the council, withdrew to mature his schemes for attaining the presidency. These acts of the federal government caused great discontent among the opposite party, which was heightened by the unsettled state of the public accounts, and the necessity of imposing taxes upon the people; these, together with Jay's treaty, the sedition and alien bills, and the attempt to raise a standing army, diminished Washington's popularity, occasioned the western insurrections, eventually threw Mr. Adams and the federalists out of power, and raised Mr. Jefferson and his friends to the government.

Mr. Adams' public career is so connected with the brief account which I have given of the two parties who divide the people of the United States, that the life of one is the history of the other. In order, however, to ascertain Mr. Adams's talents and abilities for the high office which he held as president of the United States, it is necessary to enter into some of the particulars of his character and conduct while in that office. I cannot do this better than by availing myself of the opinions of the late General Hamilton, who belonged to the federal party, and was the intimate friend of Washington. It appears that in 1796, when Washington declined standing any more for the Presidency, in order, no doubt, to prevent the

possibility of his suffering the humiliation of losing the election, that the federal party were divided in their opinions as to the merits of Mr. Adams and Mr. Thomas Pinckney. Adams' partizans wished to prevent Pinckney from having an equal number of votes with the man of their particular choice, and by this means to exclude him from all chance of the Presidency. Others thought that Pinckney was entitled to at least equal support with Adams ; amongst these was Mr. Hamilton, who warmly espoused the cause of Pinckney, and who, having on that account been much calumniated by Adams and his party, published a letter in justification of his own conduct. As this letter will afford the reader an insight into the views of the parties in that country, and the method in which they manage an election, I have taken the liberty to lay before him an extract of the most interesting parts. General Hamilton was one of the most impartial and gentlemanly characters among the leaders of the revolution ; greatly beloved by his friends, and esteemed even by his enemies. His sentiments respecting Mr. Adams may therefore be looked upon as the effusions of a man who felt himself ill-treated, but who scorned to speak unjustly even of his calumniators. The object of the publication is thus stated by the writer :

“ Some of the warm personal friends of Mr. Adams are taking unwearied pains to disparage

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the motives of these federalists who advocate the equal support of General Pinckney at the approaching election (1801) of President and Vice-president. They are exhibited under a variety of aspects equally derogatory. Sometimes they are versatile factious spirits, *who cannot be long satisfied with any chief, however meritorious* : sometimes they are ambitious spirits, who can be contented with no man that will not submit to be governed by them : sometimes they are intriguing partizans of Great Britain, who, devoted to the advancement of her views, are incensed against Mr. Adams for the independent impartiality of his conduct.

“ In addition to a full share of the obloquy vented against this description of persons collectively, peculiar accusations have been devised to swell the catalogue of my demerits. It is necessary for the public cause to repel these slanders, by stating the real views of the persons calumniated, and the reasons of their conduct.

“ In executing this task, with particular reference to myself, I ought to premise, that the ground upon which I stand is different from that of most of those who are confounded with me, as in pursuit of the same plan. While our object is common, our motives are variously dissimilar. A part, well affected to Mr. Adams, have no other wish than to take a double chance against Mr. Jefferson : another part, feeling a diminution of confidence in him, still hope that the general

tenor of his conduct will be essentially right. Few go as far in their objections as I do. Not denying to Mr. Adams, patriotism, integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be deficient in candour, were I to conceal the conviction, that he does not possess the talents adapted to the *administration* of government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of chief magistrate.

“Strong evidence of some traits of this character is to be found in a journal of Mr. Adams, which was sent to Congress during that gentleman’s mission at the court of France. The particulars of this journal cannot be expected to have remained in my memory ; but I recollect one which may serve as a sample : being among the guests invited to dine with the Count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Adams thought fit to give a specimen of American politeness, by conducting Madame de Vergennes to dinner. In the way, she was pleased to make retribution in the current coin of French politeness, by saying to him “*Monsieur Adams, vous êtes le Washington de négociation.*” Stating the incident, he makes this comment upon it : “These people have a very pretty knack of paying compliments :” he might also have added, they have a very dexterous knack of disguising a sarcasm.

“The opinion, however, which I have avowed, did not prevent my entering cordially into the

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plan of supporting Mr. Adams for the office of Vice-president of the new constitution (in 1788). I still thought that he had high claims upon the public gratitude, and possessed substantial worth of character, which might atone for some great defects. In addition to this, it was well known, that he was a favorite of New England, and it was obvious that his union with General Washington would tend to give the government, in its outset, all the strength which it could derive from the character of the two principal magistrates. But it was deemed an essential point of caution to take care, that accident, or an intrigue of the opposers of government, should not raise Mr. Adams, instead of General Washington, to the first place. This every friend of the government would have considered as a disastrous event ; as well because it would have displayed a capricious operation of the system, in elevating to the first station a man intended for the second ; as because it was conceived that the incomparable superior weight and transcendant popularity of General Washington rendered his presence at the head of the government, in its first organization, a matter of primary and indispensable importance. It was therefore agreed, that a few votes should be diverted from Mr. Adams to other persons, so as to insure to General Washington a plurality.

“Great was my astonishment, and equally great my regret, when after wards I learnt, from

persons of unquestionable veracity, that Mr. Adams *had complained of unfair treatment in not having been permitted to take an equal chance with General Washington*, by leaving the votes to an uninfluenced current.

“The extreme egotism of the temper, which could blind a man to considerations so obvious as these that had recommended the course pursued, cannot be enforced by my comment. It exceeded all that I imagined, and shewed, in too strong a light, that the vanity which I have ascribed to him, existed to a degree that rendered it more than a harmless foible.

“The epoch at length arrived, when the retreat of General Washington (in 1796) made it necessary to fix upon a successor. By this time, men of principal influence in the federal party, whose situations had led them to an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Adams’s character, began to entertain serious doubts about his fitness for the station; yet his pretensions, in several respects, were so strong, that after mature reflection, they thought it better to indulge their hopes than listen to their fears. To this conclusion, the desire of preserving harmony in the federal party was a weighty inducement. Accordingly, it was determined to support Mr. Adams for the chief magistracy.

“It was evidently of much consequence to have an eminent federalist Vice-president. Mr. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was se-

lected for this purpose. This gentleman, too little known in the north, had been all his life-time distinguished in the south, for the mildness and amiableness of his manners, the rectitude and purity of his morals, and the soundness and correctness of his understanding, accompanied by an habitual discretion and self-command, which has often occasioned a parallel to be drawn between him and the venerated Washington. In addition to these recommendations, he had been, during a critical period, our minister at the court of London, and recently envoy extraordinary to the court of Spain ; and in both these trusts, he had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all parties. With the court of Spain he had effected a treaty, which removed all the thorny subjects of contention that had so long threatened the peace of the two countries, and stipulated for the United States, on their southern frontier, and on the Mississippi, advantages of real magnitude and importance.

“ Well-informed men knew that the event of the election was extremely problematical ; and while the friends of Mr. Jefferson predicted his success with sanguine confidence, his opposers feared that he might have at least an equal chance with any federal candidate.

“ To exclude him, was deemed, by the federalists, a primary object. Those of them who possessed the best means of judging, were of opi-

nion that it was far less important, whether Mr. Adams or Mr. Pinckney was the successful candidate, than that Mr. Jefferson should not be the person ; and on this principle, it was understood among them, that the two first mentioned gentlemen should be equally supported, leaving to casual accessions of votes in favour of one or the other, to turn the scale between them.

“ In this plan I united with good faith, in the resolution to which I scrupulously adhered, of giving to each candidate an equal support. This was done, wherever my influence extended ; as was more particularly manifested in the state of New York, where all the electors were my warm personal or political friends, and all gave a concurrent vote for the two federal candidates.

“ It is true, that a faithful execution of this plan would have given Mr. Pinckney a somewhat better chance than Mr. Adams ; nor shall it be concealed that an issue favourable to the former would not have been disagreeable to me ; as indeed I declared at that time, in the circles of my confidential friends. The considerations which had reconciled me to the success of Mr. Pinckney, were of a nature exclusively public ; they resulted from the disgusting egotism, the distempered jealousy, and the ungovernable indiscretion of Mr. Adams’s temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of administration. Though in matters of finance he had acted with

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the federal party ; yet he had, more than once broached theories at variance with his practice ; and in conversation, he repeatedly made excursions into the field of foreign politics, which alarmed the friends of the prevailing system.

“ The plan of giving equal support to the two federal candidates was not pursued. Personal attachment for Mr. Adams, especially in the New England States, caused a number of votes to be withheld from Mr. Pinckney, and thrown away. The result was, that Mr. Adams was elected President by a majority of only *two* votes, and Mr. Jefferson Vice-president.

“ This issue demonstrated the wisdom of the plan which had been abandoned, and how greatly, in departing from it, the *cause* had been sacrificed to the *man*. But for a sort of miracle the departure would have made Mr. Jefferson President. No one, sincere in the opinion that this gentleman was an ineligible and dangerous candidate, can hesitate in pronouncing, that in dropping Mr. Pinckney, too much was put at hazard ; and that those who promoted the other course, acted with prudence and propriety.

“ It is to this circumstance of the equal support of Mr. Pinckney, that we are in a great measure to refer the serious schism which has grown up in the federal party. Mr. Adams never could forgive the men who had been engaged in the plan ; though it embraced some of

his most partial admirers. He had discovered bitter animosity against several of them. Against me, his rage has been so vehement, as to cause him more than once to forget the decorum, which, in his situation, ought to have been an inviolable law. It will not appear an exaggeration to those who have studied his character, to suppose that he is capable of being alienated from a system to which he has been attached, because it is upheld by men whom he hates."

We now come to a review of Mr. Adams's conduct as President, the opinions upon which are thus stated by Mr. Hamilton :

"It will be recollected, that General Charles C. Pinckney, the brother of Thomas, had been deputed by President Washington, as successor to Mr. Munroe at Paris, and had been refused to be received by the French government in his quality of Minister Plenipotentiary. As a final effort of accommodation, and as a mean in case of failure, of enlightening and combining the public opinion, it was resolved to make another, and a more solemn experiment in the form of a commission of three. This measure (with some objections to the detail) was approved by all parties; by the antifederalists, because they thought no evil so great as a rupture with France; by the federalists, because it was their system to avoid war with every power, if it could be done with-

out the sacrifice of essential interests, or absolute humiliation.

“The expediency of the step was suggested to Mr. Adams through a federal channel, a considerable time before he determined to take it. He hesitated whether it could be done, after the rejection of General Pinckney, without national debasement. The doubt was an honourable one ; it was afterwards very properly surrendered to the cogent reasons which pleaded for a further experiment.

“The event of this experiment is fresh in our recollection. Our envoys, like our minister, were rejected. Tribute was demanded as a preliminary to negotiation. To their immortal honour, though France at the time was proudly triumphant, they repelled the disgraceful pretension. This conduct of the French government, in which it is difficult to say, whether despotic insolence, or unblushing corruption was most prominent, electrified the American people with a becoming indignation. In vain the partizans of France attempted to extenuate. The public voice was distinct and audible. The nation, disdaining so foul an overture, was ready to encounter the worst consequences of resistance.

“Without imitating the flatterers of Mr. Adams, who attribute to him the whole merit of producing the spirit which appeared in the community, it shall, with cheerfulness, be acknow-

ledged, that he took upon the occasion a manly and courageous lead ; that he did all in his power to rouse the pride of the nation ; to inspire it with a just sense of the injuries and outrages which it had experienced, and to dispose it to a firm and magnanimous resistance : and that his efforts contributed materially to the end."

"The latter conduct of Mr. Adams, in the vacillating measures which he adopted, with respect to the nomination of Mr. Murray, as envoy to the French republic, and afterwards sending three others to supplicate at the feet of a set of demagogues, was a painful contrast to his commencement. Its effects sunk the tone of the public mind ; impaired the confidence of the friends of the government, in the executive chief ; distracted the public opinion ; unnerved the public councils ; sowed the seeds of discord at home, and lowered the reputation of the government abroad.

"Very different from the practice of Mr. Adams was that of the modest and sage Washington. He consulted much, pondered much, resolved slowly, resolved surely : and as surely Mr. Adams might have benefited by the advice of his ministers. The stately system of not consulting ministers is likely to have a further disadvantage. It will tend to exclude from places of primary trust, the men most fit to occupy them.

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"Few and feeble are the interested inducements to accept a place in our administration. Far from being lucrative, there is not one which will not involve pecuniary sacrifice to every *honest* man of pre-eminent talents. And has not experience shewn, that he must be fortunate indeed, if even the successful execution of his task can secure to him consideration and fame? Of a large harvest of obloquy he is sure."

Such are the opinions of Mr. Hamilton respecting the character and public conduct of Mr. Adams. The sentiments of a man so much respected, and so well informed of all the springs which set in motion the grand political machine of the United States, are invaluable, and leave the biographer of Mr. Adams but little to urge in his defence.

AARON BURR.

THIS enterprising character was born at Princetown, New Jersey, about the year 1755. He began his career under Arnold, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, when that officer, with his little corps, set out upon his Quixotic expedition to Canada. Burr accompanied the army as a volunteer; and after traversing an immense wilderness for several weeks, they arrived, in a

famished condition, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, about the latter end of November, 1775. Here they found themselves at the beginning of winter in that bleak region, without tents, provisions, horses, or artillery, in the face of a formidable fortress! A storm, however, in addition to contrary winds, delayed the passage of the river, and alone prevented this little army, consisting scarcely of five hundred men, from assailing; and perhaps carrying the town, when they first came in sight; for so unexpected was their arrival, that not more than fifty regular troops were at that time in the garrison.

Disappointed in this object, and having given time to Sir Guy Carleton, the English general, to form the inhabitants into a body of militia, they found themselves obliged to wait the arrival of Montgomery, who was expected from Montreal. This able leader having left a detachment for the security of that city, made his appearance towards the close of December. His force, however, was not much superior to Arnold's, except in some small pieces of artillery. When these two adventurous commanders united their means, they found they were small indeed: but they were all they had to expect; a desperate assault on the town was therefore the only chance of success left them. It was the dead of winter; the snow covered the ground to the depth of five or six feet; the river was frozen over; supplies

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of provisions were precarious : they must either conquer or retreat, and that too without delay !

In the mean time Burr attached himself to General Montgomery in quality of aid-de camp, and the issue of their assault upon Quebec is well known. His commander and two officers of the staff were killed in the action ; Arnold was wounded, and near half the troops were made prisoners in the town. The remainder, after occupying the lower town for two or three days, were dislodged, and retreated to the general hospital, in the neighbourhood of which they still kept up a menacing attitude during the rest of the winter ; stopping supplies of provisions, and converting the siege into a species of blockade, which gave the garrison considerable annoyance. Burr remained with the northern army, sharing all its fortunes ; which, during the next campaign in 1776, were rather honourable than brilliant. During this time, he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He and his fellow soldiers, however, had only to wait the succeeding year for the turning of the scale. In the campaign of 1777, Burr served in the army of General Gates, and was present at the various actions preceding the convention of Saratoga, when they were gratified, beyond measure, by the capture of the whole British army under General Burgoyne.

Colonel Burr afterwards returned to his native State, New Jersey, with that portion of the mor-

thern army which was sent to the assistance of General Washington, during his operations in 1778 and 1779; while there, he performed some exploits as a partizan, but of no great moment in the general result of the national contest.

Fatigued, or disgusted with a martial life, he left the army in 1779, and went to study law under Mr. Hosmer of Connecticut. At the conclusion of the war, he settled at New York, and commenced his practice in that city: and as one of his biographers observes, "That no means might be wanting to enable him to serve his country in every duty of a good citizen, he married about the same time a very amiable woman." She was a young widow, the relict of General Prevost, a British officer, who had served and died in Florida. This lady did not live many years after her second alliance; but left Mr. Burr one child, a daughter, now married to Mr. Allston of South Carolina. She also bequeathed to his care a son, by her former husband; to whom Mr. Burr has the merit of having given an excellent education.

Mr. Burr had not long settled at New York, before his talents raised him to the notice of the people. His eloquence, which was of the brilliant and insinuating kind, was no sooner heard in a court of justice, than he was recognized as standing either at, or near the head of his profession. He might, doubtless, have enriched

himself by the practice of the law, had he pursued it with diligence, and lived with economy ; but he possessed a taste for expense, which, together with some unlucky speculations in land or other things foreign to his profession, have kept his fortune in a state of mediocrity. Another circumstance that militated against the accumulation of wealth was, the strong ambition which he evinced to figure in the higher stations of legislation and government ; employments which in that country can yield no profit. He was early and often elected to the legislative assembly of the state, and several times delegated to Congress ; and, for a man who had no trace of family connexion in the State where he lived, and who had no fortune either to stand in the place of merit, or to help to set it off, his success in rising to the highest and most confidential post, is, surely, no small proof of talent, if not of virtue.

At the election, for president and vice-president, in 1801, he was gratified by being chosen to fill the office of the latter ; and by a singular contest between the different States, he narrowly missed the chance of being elected president. Some persons have ascribed an unfair action to Burr on that occasion ; but as it has never been substantiated, it can be considered only as an idle rumour.

Notwithstanding this sudden elevation, Burr had

the mortification to find, after a short time, that his popularity declined rather than increased. His vanity and ambition, no doubt, tended considerably to alienate the affections of those who had supported him on account of his extraordinary talents; and the insinuations of his enemies also materially contributed to sink him in the favour of the people. Seeing, therefore, very little probability of being again elected to the office of vice-president, he declared himself candidate for Governor of the State of New York in 1804. In this, however, he did not succeed, being opposed by the greater part of the republicans, and by all the federalists.

During the canvas, previous to the election, it seems, that General Hamilton had made some free observations on the political and moral character of Burr, probably with a view to defeat his election. These afterwards found their way into the newspapers, and gave rise to that duel which terminated in the death of the General, and in the flight of Burr.

Having escaped from the hands of justice in New York, Burr had the temerity to make his appearance at Philadelphia; but finding that the public indignation was loudly expressed against him, he retired to the State of Tennessee, where he was a land-holder. There he remained in safety, the victim of his resentment being little known in that part of the Union; but the most

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flagrant violation of the public feeling, was the glaring fact of his continuing to exercise the functions of his office as vice-president, though a warrant of one of the States was in force to apprehend him ! After the clamours against him had somewhat subsided, he ventured from his retreat, and was repeatedly seen in the vice-presidential chair, without any other notice than the whispers of resentment among the auditors in the gallery of the Senate chamber. It is said that he even presided during the whole of the trial of the venerable Judge Chace, who was afterwards proved to be more innocent than those who sat in judgment on him.

When his official term expired, Burr withdrew to his estate in Tennessee, and there matured those plans which his enterprising and ambitious mind had projected for the subjugation of Mexico and other parts of the Spanish possessions : though in the opinion of many people, they were secretly intended for the separation of the Union. The facts and circumstances respecting this extraordinary affair are so recent, and have been so repeatedly detailed in the public prints, that it is unnecessary for me to enter into a long history of the subject ; suffice it to say, that after collecting a number of adventurers like himself, of desperate fortune, and forming a magazine of stores, arms, and provisions, his plans were frustrated by the interference of the government ;

and he, together with his associates, were apprehended, and brought to trial. No sufficient proof of treason, however, could be adduced against them, and they were liberated upon bail. Since then, Burr has gone off to some more distant part of the Union, where he perhaps is, at this moment, employed in forming schemes of greater magnitude, and providing the means for carrying them into execution.

MR. BLANNERHASSET.

AMONG the deluded victims of Burr's unprincipled designs, is a gentleman of the name of Blannerhasset a native of Ireland, who fled from the storms of his own country, to enjoy the happiness of a quiet retreat, in the interior of America. With a moderate fortune, a cultivated mind, and an amiable wife, he sought retirement on the banks of the Ohio; and until Aaron Burr introduced himself to his acquaintance, he had never experienced one unhappy moment. The cruelty and infamy of Burr's proceedings, which occasioned the fall of this unfortunate gentleman from a state of affluence and happiness, to poverty and despair, have been so ably depicted by Mr. Wirt, one of the counsellors on Burr's trial, that I should do him injustice, were I to

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describe them in any other language than his own. I shall leave the reader to make his own comments on such vile and atrocious conduct.

Mr. Wirt, speaking of the daring violation of the laws of the country, of which Burr had been guilty, and his infamy in endeavouring to shift the blame from himself to Blannerhasset, exclaims, "Who then is Aaron Burr, in the part which he has borne in this transaction? He is its author; its projector; its active executor. Bold, ardent, restless, aspiring, his brain conceived it, his hand brought it into action. Beginning his operations in New York, he associated with him, men whose wealth is to supply the necessary funds. Possessed of the main spring, his personal labour contrives all the machinery. Per- vading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allure- ment which he can contrive, men of all ranks and all descriptions. To youthful ardour, he presents danger and glory; to ambition, rank, titles, and honour; to avarice, mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses, he presents the object adapted to his taste; his recruiting of- ficers are appointed; men are engaged through- out the continent: civil life is indeed quiet upon its surface, but in its bosom, this man has con- trived to deposit the materials with which the slightest touch of his match produces an explo- sion. All this, his restless ambition contrived;

and in the autumn of 1806, he goes, for the last time, to apply this match. On this excursion he meets with Blannerhasset.

“Who is Blannerhasset? A native of Ireland, a man of letters, who fled from the storms of his own country, to find quiet in ours. His history shews that war is not the natural element of his mind; if it had been, he never would have changed Ireland for America. So far is an army from furnishing the society natural and proper for Mr. Blannerhasset’s character, that he retired from the population of the Atlantic States, and sought quiet and solitude in the bosom of our western forests. But he carried with him taste, science, and wealth; “and lo! the desert smiled.” Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied, blooms around him; music that might have charmed Calliope and her nymphs, is his; an extensive library spreads its treasures before him; a philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature: peace, tranquillity, and innocence, shed their mingled delights around him; and, to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to be lovely beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him father of her children.

"The evidence would convince you, Sir, that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocence, and this tranquillity, this feast of the mind, this pure banquet of the heart—the destroyer comes—he comes to turn his paradise into a hell;—yet the flowers do not wither at his approach, and no monitory shuddering through the bosom of their unfortunate possessors, warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank which he had lately held in his country, he soon finds his way to their hearts, by the dignity and elegance of his demeanour; the light and beauty of his conversation; and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not a difficult one. Innocence is ever simple and credulous; conscious of no design itself, it suspects none in others; it wears no guard before its breast; every door, and portal, and avenue of the heart, is thrown open, and all who choose it enter. Such was the state of Eden, when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner, in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpractised heart of the unfortunate Blannerhasset, found but little difficulty in changing the native character of that heart, and the object of its affection. By degrees he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition; he breathes into it the fire of his own courage; a

daring and desperate thirst for glory; an ardour panting for all the storm, and bustle, and hurricane of life.

"In a short time, the whole man was changed, and every object of his former delight relinquished: no more he enjoys the tranquil scene; it has become flat and insipid to his taste; his books are abandoned; his retort and crucible are thrown aside; his shrubby blooms, and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain; he likes it not; his ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music; it longs for the trumpets clangor, and the cannon's roar: even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him; and the angel smile of his wife, which hitherto touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unfelt and unseen. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul; his imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, and stars, and garters, and titles, of nobility: he has been taught to burn with restless emulation at the names of Cæsar, Cromwell, and Buonaparte. His enchanted island is destined soon to elapse into a desert; and in a few months we find the tender and beautiful partner of his bosom, whom, lately he "permitted not the winds of summer "to visit too roughly," shivering at midnight on the winter banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell. Yet this unfortunate man, thus deluded from

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his interest and his happiness; thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace: thus confounded in the toils which were deliberately spread for him, and overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another; this man, thus ruined and undone, and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason; this man is to be called the principal offender; while he, by whom he was thus plunged and steeped in misery, is comparatively innocent—a mere accessory. Sir, neither the human heart, nor the human understanding will bear a perversion so monstrous, and absurd; so shocking to the soul, so revolting to reason. O! no, Sir, there is no man who knows any thing of this affair, who does not know that to every body concerned in it, *Aaron Burr* was the sun to the planets which surrounded him: he bound them in their respective orbits, and gave them their light, their heat, and their motion. Let him not then shrink from the high destination which he has courted; and having already ruined Blannerhasset in fortune, character, and happiness for ever, attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment."

THE LATE GENERAL HAMILTON.

THE father of this much respected character, was a native of Scotland, settled in the island of St. Vincent, where he had married an American lady. When of proper age young Hamilton was sent to Columbia college, at New York for his education, under the care of his mother's relations. He entered the American army at a very early stage of the contest, and at an age when he was little more than a school-boy; for he had but recently left college and entered a merchant's counting-house. Having raised a company of matrosses, or artillery-men, he took the field, and conducted himself in such a manner as to obtain the notice of the Commander-in-chief. His high reputation for discretion and valour procured him the post of aide-de-camp to General Washington, whose fame, according to the assertion of Mr. Cobbett, is more indebted to Mr. Hamilton than to any intrinsic merit of his own.

During the war, Mr. Hamilton rose from rank to rank, till at the siege of York-town we see him a colonel, commanding the attack on one of the redoubts, the capture of which decided the fate of Lord Cornwallis, and his army. Here Mr. Cobbett relates an anecdote of this gentleman, which if founded in truth, redounds greatly

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to his honour, but throws a shade over that of Washington and La Fayette. "Previous to the assault," says that writer, "La Fayette who was high in command in the American army, proposed to Washington to *put to death* all the British officers and soldiers that should be taken in the redoubts. Washington who, as Dr. Smyth truly observes, 'never did one generous action in his life,' replied, that as the Marquis had the chief command of the assault, '*he might do as he pleased.*' This answer, which was very much like that of Pontius Pilate to the Jews, encouraged the base and vindictive Frenchman to give a positive order to Colonel Hamilton to execute his bloody intention. After the redoubts were subdued, La Fayette asked why his order had not been obeyed, to which the gallant and humane Hamilton replied, 'that the Americans knew how to *fight*, but not to *murder*,' in which sentiment he was joined by the American soldiers who heard the remonstrances of La Fayette with indignation and abhorrence." Cobbett refers the reader for a detail of these facts, to the *American* account of the revolutionary war, published by Dodson of Philadelphia, and inserted in the American edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. It is, however, rather singular that La Fayette, who was at the head of one of the parties that stormed the redoubts on that day, should himself have neglected to carry into exe-

cution his own favourite proposition ; surely he could not expect Colonel Hamilton to execute such an infamous plan, in which he himself declined taking any share : nor, from the known humanity, if not *generosity*, of General Washington, can we for a moment suppose, that he would have quietly given his acquiescence to such a diabolical proceeding. This anecdote most likely originated with the enemies of that great man, and was made use of to answer the purpose of an election. At all events, those who have any regard for his character and reputation, and possess the means of contradicting this vile aspersion, should come forward, and relieve his hitherto unblemished name from the odium which must otherwise attach to it.

The war being at an end, the army disbanded, and no provision made for either soldiers or officers, Mr. Hamilton was led to the profession of the law. He retired to Albany, where he secluded himself from the world for some months, at the end of which, he was admitted to the bar, and, to the utter astonishment of every one, was, in a very little time, regarded as the most eminent advocate at a bar which was far from being destitute either of legal knowledge or rhetorical talents.

In this situation he acquired still greater honour by his courageous resistance of those violent and unjust measures which were proposed, and,

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in some cases, carried into execution, against the property and persons of the royalists, who remained in the state after the evacuation of the city of New York. He had fought bravely against them, and he now as bravely defended them against the persecution of those selfish and malignant cowards, who had never dared to face them in the field: and, it may be safely asserted, that the state of New York owed the restoration of its tranquillity and credit to his exertions, more than to any other cause whatever.

When the federal government was established in the year 1778, Mr. Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury, an office in America, similar to those of our lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer joined in one. This situation, considering the state of the American finances, and the total want of public credit that prevailed, was a most arduous one; but Mr. Hamilton's genius, his inflexible integrity, and his indefatigable industry, surmounted all obstacles. In a very short space, the American government regained the lost confidence of both natives and foreigners; the payment of the public debts was provided for, trade and commerce revived, and the nation rose to that importance, to which, without Mr. Hamilton's measures, it would have made but a slow progress.

Having thus grafted the soldier upon the merchant, and the statesman upon the lawyer;

having equalled, if not excelled, his contemporaries in all these widely various professions, he was justly regarded as a man to whom the nation might look with confidence in any future crisis of its affairs. No wonder then, that his premature death, should have created such general grief throughout the country, and that while his memory is dear to the heart of every good man, that of his murderer is loaded with execrations.



JOHN RANDOLPH.

THIS gentleman, whose name many persons have confounded with that of Edmund Randolph, is a native of Virginia, and born of a very respectable family. Bred up to the profession of the law, attached to antifederal principles, he came into office under Mr. Jefferson's administration. Previous to this, Mr. Randolph had for several years been a member of Congress, and upon several occasions during Mr. Adams's presidency, he contrived materially to turn the current of popular opinion from the federalists to his party.

The indiscreet and intemperate warmth shewn by the ruling party towards Great Britain, and their apparently tame acquiescence in the mea-

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asures of Buonaparte, at length disgusted Mr. Randolph. He began by rebuking Mr. Madison, at that time secretary of state, for acceding to the demand of Turreau, the French ambassador; on which occasion Mr. Madison replied, "*that France was in want of money, and must have some from the United States.*" The pretext, as I have already stated, was payment for the Floridas and Louisiana: but it is well known that the Americans are in possession of no more than they were before the purchase-money was paid! This shuffling conduct occasioned Mr. Randolph to withdraw himself from the confidence of President Jefferson, and then repeatedly told the house that there no longer existed a cabinet council.

Since then he has taken an active part in opposition to the measures of the democratical party, without absolutely joining the federalists. In thus steering a middle course he has been joined by many other members, who under his auspices have lately risen into public notice and esteem. Among them the names of Gardener, Key, Dana, Otis, and Quincy, are the most conspicuous. In many instances Mr. Randolph's speeches have been favourable to English measures and principles, as opposed to those of France, yet nevertheless, he possesses that *amor patriæ* which consults only the good of his own country.

† The integrity and virtue of this eminent character are sufficiently substantiated by his sentiments respecting the late Mr. Crowninshield's proposition for cancelling the national debt in case of war with England. "The gentleman from Massachusetts," says Mr. Randolph, "is for spunging the national debt. I can never consent to it. I will never bring the ways and means of fraudulent bankruptcy into your committee of supply. Confiscation and swindling shall never be found among my estimates, to meet the current expenditure of peace and war. No, Sir, I have said with the doors closed, and I say so when they are open, 'pay the public debt.' Get rid of that dead weight upon your government, that cramps all your measures, and then you may set the world at defiance. So long as it hangs upon you, you must have revenue, and to have revenue you must have *commerce--commerce, peace.*"

Acting up to these patriotic and virtuous principles, Mr. Randolph was induced to bring forward a series of charges against General Wilkinson for corruption, in having received money at various times from the Spanish government at New Orleans, in aid of traitorous practices against the United States. One of the documents which Mr. Randolph presented to the house on that occasion, is as follows :

TRANSLATION.

" In the galley the Victoria, Bernardo Molina, patron, there have been sent to Don Vincent Folch nine thousand six hundred and forty dollars, which sum, without making the least use of it, you will hold at my disposal, to deliver it at the moment an order may be presented to you by the American General Don James Wilkinson. God preserve you many years.

" THE BARON DE CARONDELET."

New Orleans, 20th Jan. 1796.

" I certify that the foregoing is a copy of its original, to which I refer.

(Signed) " THOMAS PORTELL."

New Madrid, 27th June 1796.

Mr. Randolph upon this and other documents, impeached Wilkinson of being a Spanish pensioner, and pledged himself to prove the charges which he brought against him. A motion was accordingly made to request the President to institute an inquiry into Wilkinson's conduct. In the mean time Wilkinson challenged Randolph, who replied, that he would not fight him till he had cleared up his character: in consequence of which, the General posted an advertisement up in different parts of the city of Washington,

proclaiming John Randolph a prevaricating poltroon and scoundrel.

Mr. Randolph, however, displayed his courage and magnanimity by treating this libel with contempt; and patriotically continued to persevere in the investigation of this unpleasant business. At the examination of witnesses Mr. Randolph, on introducing Mr. Clark's affidavit, said, "The proofs, Mr. Speaker, which have this day been produced against your General-in-chief, together with what I hold in my hand, will convince you Sir, and the world, that he is a base traitor. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, that this poison, this infectious, corrupted disease, is not confined to your General alone; it has, to the disgrace of the American character, I am sorry to say, extended to the army under your General's command! The very stores which descended the Ohio for the Burr conspiracy, were taken, Sir, from the American arsenal!"

If this last allegation is true, and it never has been contradicted, we may easily account for the acquittal of General Wilkinson, which afterwards took place. A military court of inquiry was instituted by the President to investigate the charges against him. They acquitted him of all corrupt practices; but acknowledged that he had, at various times, received large sums of money from the Governor of New Orleans for tobacco! Excellent management! I think they

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order these matters better in America than in Europe.

Mr. Randolph's figure is ordinary and forbidding: tall, lean, pale, and emaciated; he repulses rather than invites. His voice is somewhat feminine, but that is little noticed, the moment he has entered fully upon his subject, whether it be at the convivial table, or in the house of representatives. The defects of his person are then forgotten in one continued blaze of shrewd, sensible, and eloquent remarks. By a manner peculiar to himself he arrests the wandering attention of his auditors, and rouses every slumbering faculty of the mind. The reasoning of Mr. Randolph is never strong and forcible; having a genius which despises the shackles of restraint, he throws off, in the paroxysms of feeling, the chains of argumentation, and ranges, as it were, with a quickened pace and gladdened heart, through the wide field of general remark. If forced into a subtle and intricate discussion by his opponents, he yields with infinite reluctance to the imperious necessity of speaking to the judgment, without being permitted to charm and captivate the imagination. Yet nevertheless when he exhibits his subject naked, it has the nerve of Hercules, and is not relieved by a single feature of Adonis.

With the most powerful talents, with superior cultivation of mind, and with the most unsus-

pecting sincerity in the expression of all his opinions, Mr. Randolph is not calculated for a popular leader. The arts of conciliation are unknown to him. Governed by the dictates of his own manly judgment, he cannot conceive that dependence which shackles weaker minds. It is thus that he never has been known to consult, to advise, or to compromise. His propositions are original; they are brought forward without one inquiry of who is to support, or who is to oppose them? Conscious of the purity of his own intentions, and satisfied with the correctness of his own judgment, he wishes not to defend the one, he seeks not to confirm the other, by his personal popularity.

Individually, there is no man in the district, where he resides, who is not better known, or whose manners and habits are not more pleasing to the people, than Mr. Randolph's. It is probable, that if his election were put on that issue, he would never have held a seat in Congress. About him there is an atmosphere of repulsion, which few dare to penetrate; but he who has the firmness to do it, is eminently rewarded. Ardent and affectionate in his disposition, he is susceptible of strong and permanent affection: but if injured, he exhibits but little of that mild forbearance which is inculcated in the gentle precepts of our holy religion. His private history, however, abounds with evidences of the most humane and

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philanthropic feeling. One trait in his character denotes his inclination to live in peace and friendship with those around him: he never will converse upon political subjects, but with the greatest reluctance, well knowing what acrimony and discord they create, even between the warmest friends.

Although Mr. Randolph possesses general information, he cannot be considered a literary character. Except a minute knowledge of history and geography, his reading has been otherwise superficial. The wit of Mr. Randolph is keen, and too often indulged without regard to its effects on the feelings of others. Sometimes, however, its application is peculiarly happy. Dr. Dana, proverbial for his *pedantry*, once observed in the presence of Mr. Randolph, that they were waiting for their *stalking library*, (alluding to Dr. Mitchell) "Sir," said Randolph, "I heard him just now inquire for his *index*." The adversaries of Mr. Randolph have lately attempted to dishearten him by contumely and vulgar abuse; but he very properly refuses to be drawn into personal conflicts with whole hosts of enemies, who wish to drown their vengeance in his blood. "May he live long," says one of his friends, "and never cease to lash corruption with a calm disdain."

MR. GARDENIER.

THERE cannot, says a celebrated English writer, a greater judgment befall a country than such a dreadful spirit of division as rends a government into *two distinct people*, and makes them greater strangers and more averse to each other, than if they were actually two different nations. The effects of such a division are pernicious to the last degree, not only with regard to those advantages which they give the common enemy, but to those private evils which they produce in the heart of almost every particular person. This influence is very fatal both to men's morals and their understandings ; it sinks the virtue of a nation, and not only so, but destroys even common sense. A furious party spirit, when it rages in its full violence, exerts itself in civil war and bloodshed ; and when it is under its greatest restraints, naturally breaks out in *falshood, detraction, calumny, and a partial administration of justice*. In a word, it fills a nation with spleen and rancour, and extinguishes all the seeds of good nature, compassion, and humanity.

If these observations had been written at the present day, instead of a century ago, they could not have applied with greater truth to the situation of the United States, than they do at this

moment, torn and divided as she is, between democrats and federalists. These parties, however, which have so long convulsed the political machine of that country, seem to have given rise lately to a third party, which appears inclined to steer a middle course between the interests of England and France, as they relate to America.

Of this class of politicians I have already mentioned Mr. Gardenier, who next to his great leader, Mr. Randolph, is distinguished by the bold and manly sentiments which he delivers in the house of representatives. This gentleman is a native of the state of New York, and began his public career as member for Dutchess county in that state. He soon distinguished himself in the house by several very able speeches, against the pusillanimous and vacillating measures of the government : but his greatest efforts were levelled at the passing of the embargo act, which, conjointly with Mr. Randolph, he exerted every nerve to prevent. During the discussion of that important question, which occupied the house for several days and nights, he reflected severely upon the government. "The representatives of the nation," said Mr. Gardenier, "are sitting in this house as mere automata ; they are guided by an *invisible* hand, which is bringing ruin upon the country, and threatens to chain us to the triumphal car of the Emperor Napoleon. Congress is completely in the dark. We can obtain no in-

formation from the cabinet, why, or wherefore we act; or for what motive we are about to commit a commercial suicide?"

This bold and manly attack brought on him a host of assailants from the opposite party, who were for immediately expelling him the house. So great was the outcry against him, that the Speaker moved an adjournment, in order that they might take up the question more coolly the next day. Accordingly, on the following day, Mr. G. W. Campbell, of Tennessee, came down to the house, and declared that Mr. Gardenier had uttered *an infamous falshood*, and that he was ready to maintain his declaration in any manner Mr. Gardenier might think proper. This being construed into a challenge, a meeting was appointed, and a duel fought, which terminated by Mr. Gardenier being shot in the shoulder.

It is said that Mr. Campbell is one of the best shots in America, which possibly prompted him to stand forward the champion of his party. Mr. Gardenier, however, gained considerable celebrity from this rencontre, and was soon after elected by the federal party to represent the city of New York. A grand dinner was also given him on that occasion. Such is the rise of Mr. Gardenier, who bids fair to become one of the most distinguished characters in the Union.

MR. KEY.

ANOTHER of these bold and determined patriots is Mr. Key, of Maryland, who, true to the principles which guide his friends Randolph and Gardenier, has energetically delivered his sentiments against the destructive measures of the ruling party. The embargo has, however, been the principal object of Mr. Key's animosity: and he has neglected no opportunity to set it in its true light before the government and the people.

Previous to an adjournment of the Congressional session, Mr. G. W. Campbell brought forward a motion to empower the President to suspend the embargo during the recess, in the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe; or of such changes in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as in the opinion of the President might render the United States sufficiently safe. On that occasion Mr. Key delivered one of the most luminous and argumentative speeches that had yet been heard on the interesting subject of the embargo. This speech was published in a supplement to the Boston Gazette, of the 28th of April, 1808, the day I left that town. As it affords a much clearer view of the great question, as to the

propriety of the embargo, and the benefits which have, or are likely to result from that measure, than any observations that have hitherto appeared—I have ventured to lay it before the reader, together with the comments of the American editor.

MR. KEY'S SPEECH.

[The following able and argumentative speech of Mr. Key, of Maryland, is thus introduced in the Washington Federalist, from whence we have selected it:—"This appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the American people, will surely awaken the attention of every man to our present distressful and perilous condition. These are times, when the movements of the national machine are impeded by clogs and impediments; when the peace of the people is disturbed by the alarms of war, and the wayward policy of their rulers. The grand counsellors for the national safety, have enacted a law, which presses hard upon every individual of the community; which has arrested our career upon the road to wealth and national greatness, and which has thrown thousands of indigent and helpless families upon the bounty of the more affluent and unembarrassed. It was to induce the administration party to repeal this destructive law, that this speech was delivered, and in truth it does honour

to the head and the heart of its author. The details are minute and interesting; the political information correct, and its style pure and flowing. The question of the constitutionality of a law, empowering the President to repeal an act of the legislature is discussed with great legal ability, and a masterly adroitness. We hope the reader will give to this fine piece of parliamentary eloquence a most serious perusal."]

Speech of the Honourable Mr. Key, on the following resolution offered by Mr. G. W. Campbell.

Resolved, That in the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such changes in their measures affecting neutral commerce as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the opinion of the President of the United States, he ought to be authorized by law to suspend the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbours of the United States, and the several acts supplementary thereto, under such regulations and restrictions as the public interest, and circumstances of the case, may appear to require; provided such extension shall not extend beyond days after the commencement of the next session of Congress.

Mr. Chairman.—I rise on this occasion with

great embarrassment, because in no instance of my political life, has any measure called on me to act, in which the interests of my country were more deeply involved. In common with my fellow-citizens of Maryland, I feel a total aversion to the continuance of the embargo, and I am confident I speak the almost unanimous sense of my constituents in calling for its repeal. However proper *some* of them might have considered it in the first instance, as an *experiment* from which good might result, yet *all* are now satisfied that nothing short of its immediate repeal will save them from great distress, and that a long continuance of it will induce bankruptcy and ruin. I am willing, Sir, to admit, that those who advocated the embargo were actuated by the purest motives, and had the best interests of their country at heart ; that they adopted it as a measure from which great permanent good would result : but time, which tests the correctness of political measures, has sufficiently elapsed to convince them of their error ; at least, it has impressed on my mind a conviction, that we *deeply suffer*, whilst those it was intended to operate on, *lightly feel its effects*. I was originally opposed to the measure ; I still am opposed to it ; and although I anxiously wish its immediate repeal, yet I am compelled to vote against the present resolution, because in my heart and judgment I believe it is so worded as to violate, if adopted, the constitu-

tion of the United States, and that I am unwilling to let the repeal of this law depend on contingencies not known or designated, and which are to grow out of the acts of foreign governments.

An honourable gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Love), who originally voted for the measure, has this day admitted it to be a curse; I concur with him, as I hope he will now with me, in a vote and prayer for its speedy removal. I believe the embargo to be partial in its operation, oppressive, and if persisted in, ruinous to the country. These are strong terms; but if gentlemen will lend a patient ear, I will endeavour to convince them of their truth, and I will use as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.—The view I take of this subject is extensive, but I hope not diffusive.

The resolution proposes to *vest the President with power*, on the happening of *certain European events*, to *suspend* the embargo law. I am against it, because I want an immediate repeal; because it is unconstitutional to vest the President with power to suspend a law; and because it is partial in its operation, oppressive and ruinous.

It is partial in its operations in two respects, first, as it regards the persons on whom it operates, and secondly, as it respects the product operated on.

The district I have the honor to represent is not bounded on navigable water. So far, then, as it respects my constituents, (and many other dis-

districts of different states are in the same situation) the law executes itself with rigour. From their geographical position they are excluded the means of selling their surplus produce, while this very law operates as a bounty, in effect, to the citizens of other parts of the United States. I call the attention of the committee to the northern parts of the state of New York. That state binds on Lake Erie to Niagara, on the whole extent of Lake Ontario, on a great part of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes Champlain and George, and has an immediate, direct, easy communication with the British, in Upper and Lower Canada. The whole Genessee country, and the counties lower down, have a steady constant market, the prices tempting, the access easy, and few or no officers to interrupt the daily supplies given to their British neighbours. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact of this commerce being steadily carried on.

The embargo, so far as it restrains places from exporting their surplus produce, goes to enhance the price of such produce in foreign markets; the enhanced price affords the temptation, and the easy access, gives the means to that country to export it, and, in fact, by excluding others, gives to them a monopoly of supply. Near 400 miles of northern coast, in proximity to the British settlements, gives to New York, upon the lakes, a steady market. Vermont binds on lakes which communicate with Canada: Passamaquaddy openly

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and publicly furnishes supplies to New Brunswick. In this state of things, and in the mode the law is executed, it is partial and oppressive, and my constituents and others in similar locations so feel and experience it.

But, Sir, there is another portion of our fellow-citizens, on whom this law executes itself with peculiar severity ; I mean the frugal, hardy, laborious, and valuable fishermen of the eastern states. I see gentlemen smile at a member of the middle states supporting the interests of the fishermen ; but, Sir, I should think myself ill entitled to a seat in this house, if I did not know the value of that class of men to society and the Union. I wish, Sir, their numbers, character, and usefulness, were better known and understood, than I fear they are : and, as on this subject, my opinions may not be orthodox, I will refer to the head of the church.

Mr. Chairman, in the year 1791, the *now* President of the United States, *then* Secretary of State, made an able and luminous report on our fisheries ; these are his words : first, as to the annual value of a fisherman's labour ; secondly, as to the situation and value of the whale fishery, as carried on from a sand bar.

Extract 1st.

“ About 100 natives on board 17 ships (for there were 150 Americans engaged by the

voyage) came to 2,255 livres, or about 416 $\frac{4}{5}$ dols. a man.

Extract 2d.

“The American whale fishery is principally followed by the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket, a sand-bar of about fifteen miles long, and three broad, capable of maintaining, by its agriculture, about twenty families; but it employed on these fisheries, before the war, between five and six thousand men and boys; and, in the only harbour it possesses, it had *one hundred and forty* vessels, *one hundred and thirty-two* of which were of the large kind, as being employed in the southern fishery. In agriculture, then, they have no resources, and if that of their fishery cannot be pursued from their own habitations, it is natural they should seek others, from which it can be followed, and prefer those where they will find a sameness of language, religion, laws, habits, and kindred. A foreign emissary has lately been among them, for the purpose of renewing the invitations to a change of situation; but attached to their native country, they prefer continuing in it, if their continuance there can be made supportable.” *Mr. Jefferson's Report, 10th Jan. 1791, on the subject of the Fisheries.*

I call the attention of the committee to every

letter of this report, and then let each member ask himself the situation of the fishermen under the embargo law ?

Sir, by the treasury report laid on our desks, it appears, that the exportation of dried fish *alone* in the last year amounted to 473,924 quintals ; and the *whole* product of the fisheries amounted to 2,800,000 *dols.*, a sum equal to the 1-18th part of the whole agricultural produce of the United States ; thus in effect, in point of product, adding another state to the Union. Is this class of men, whose farm is the ocean, and whose crop is its fish, to have their whole, or nearly their whole sacrificed by the unequal operation of the embargo ? I hope not, Sir. I trust gentlemen will see the oppression of the law, and its partial operation, and remove it.

Again, Sir, as to the product, how does this law operate ? The cotton planter, and the tobacco planter, have their articles little deteriorated by time. The embargo to *them* suspends the use of their capital only ; but to those who have flour or fish, the embargo, if continued for a few months, destroys their capital, the thing itself. In this respect, the embargo works partially ; and in reference to its operation on particular portions of our country, on particular classes of people, or on the product, it ought to be repealed at once, and without delay. Sir, it is a very remarkable fact, and not more remarkable than true, that if

you compare the number of fishermen with the product of their labour, and the number employed in agriculture, with the product of agriculture; that the value of the former to the latter is as ten to one; a people whose habits and manners are in consonance with republican institutions, and who are as valuable as the agriculturists. God has given them a noble estate in the ocean, most bountifully stocked, and diligently do they work it, with profit to themselves and advantage to their country.

Mr. Chairman, I have said the embargo is oppressive, and if long continued will ruin us. I will not use declamation as to its oppressiveness; I will endeavour to prove it by documents.

Let us take the article of dried fish alone.

In last year the exports of <i>this article</i>	<i>Quintals.</i>
amounted to	473,924

Of this were exported to Fr.

Eur. ports on the Atlantic,	65,697
Ditto on the Mediterranean	22,557
Spanish ports (European)	
on the Atlantic	43,649
Ditto on the Mediterranean	39,860
Italy	13,600
These ports, by the British	
orders in council, cannot	
now be exported to	185,363
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	288,561

But there remains the quantity of 288,561 quintals of the value of 1,264,000 *dols.* free to be exported to other places, not interdicted by the British orders of council, nor within the physical power of the French to affect, and only operated on by the embargo. Such is the fact as it respects that one article; but I will now proceed to a general statement, to which I call the attention of the committee, and invite investigation.

By the treasurer's statements laid on our desks, it appears that the aggregate of domestic produce exported the last year, was 41,699,592 *dols.*; by *domestic produce* is meant, the produce of *the sea and our own soil*, from *our own labour*, except about 2,000,000 of *our manufactures*. I will not interfere with foreign articles exported by us; I mean exclusively, our own inherent, indigenous, absolute produce, growing out of our own labour.

Of that amount, to wit, the sum of 48,699,562 *dols.* there were exported in the last year to the continent of Europe, &c., and now interdicted by the British decrees of council, as follows:

AMOUNT OF EXPORTS IN 1807.

Of domestic produce . . .	<i>Dols.</i> 48,699,592
To Russia	<i>Dols.</i> 78,850
To Sweden	56,157
To Norway and Denmark	572,150
To Holland	3,093,234
	<hr/>
	3,800,391

Brought forward	3,800,391—48,699,592
To Hamburgh, Bremen, and the Hanse-Towns	912,225
To Fr. European ports on the Atlantic . . .	2,507,707
Ditto on the Mediterr.	208,434
Spanish European ports on the Atlantic . . .	797,017
Ditto on the Mediterr.	334,214
To Portugal	829,313
To Italy	250,257
To Trieste & Adriatic pts.	23,253
To Turkey, Levant, and Egypt	4,520
To Morocco and the Bar- bary States	8,338
To Europe generally, no designation	31,505
Deduct this amount . . .	9,757,204

Amount of domestic produce free

to be exported Dols. 38,942,388

This surplus of 38,937,388 dols. of our own produce is not interdicted by the British orders of Council, nor within the physical power of France to obstruct, and is only prohibited from exportation by the operation of the embargo; for I shall not notice the French decree, it is *Brutum fulmen*. The excessive folly of the Emperor's decree, can only be equalled by his weakness and incapacity to execute it.

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If I am incorrect in my statement, and I again solicit investigation and detection of error, ought not the benefit of an embargo to be certain, irresistible, all powerful, before it should lock up such a mass of product from exportation and sale? Can uncertain, contingent, probable advantages justify an experiment, which hazards so many millions of dollars? Will not the nation demand at our hands, that as good and faithful stewards, we shall account for the property placed under our controul? And how have we done it! I fear to ask: BY AN EMBARGO?

Sir, it has been said, and repeated, that the embargo does very little harm; that we have no places to export our produce to: if such be the fact, Mr. Chairman, then the law ought to be repealed as *useless and idle*; but, Sir, it is very well known, that we have abundance of ports and countries to export to, and that is the reason why there is an embargo *by law*. Sir, that honourable, useful, and well informed body of men, the merchants of this continent, so much superior to us in their knowledge of foreign trade and risks, will put a voluntary embargo on, if trade cannot be carried on to advantage. Men of their understanding, with their extensive foreign correspondence, backed too by the principle of self-interest, may be safely trusted on this subject; they well know to which ports produce may safely go, without the intervention of this ho-

nnurable body ; and if, Sir, the merchants should not be sufficiently on their guard, the pulse of sea-risk, of destination, and of capture, will be safely felt ; through the medium of our insurance companies, they will regulate the risk with judgment and precision : I would therefore confide to them the commerce of our country in the exportation of our produce, unshackled by an embargo law. But, Mr. Chairman, let us review this law and its effects.

In a commercial point of view,

It has annihilated our trade :

In an agricultural point of view,

It has paralyzed industry. I have heard that the touch of Midas converted every thing into gold ; but the embargo law, like the head of *Medusa*, turns every thing to stone. Our most fertile lands are reduced to sterility, so far as it respects our surplus produce.

As a measure of political economy,

It will drive (if continued) our seamen into foreign employ, and our fishermen to foreign sand banks.

In a financial point of view,

It has dried up our revenue ; and if continued will close the sales of western lands, and the payment of instalments of past sales ; for, unless produce can be sold, payments cannot be made.

As a war measure, the embargo has not been advocated.

It remains then to consider the effects as a peace measure,

A measure inducing peace.

I grant Sir, that if the friends of the embargo had rightly calculated its effects; if it had brought the belligerents of Europe to a sense of justice and respect for our rights, through the weakness and dependence of their West India possessions, it would have been infinitely wise and desirable, and that they voted for it with such noble views I have no doubt. But, Sir, the experience of near four months has not produced that effect; and I have endeavoured to shew, that from the situation of our country, the manner in which the law is executed, the demand for subsistence, the consequent rise in price, and the facility of supply, that the West Indies (British) will be supplied.

If that be the case; if such should be the result, then will the embargo, of all measures, be the most acceptable to Britain; by occluding *our ports*, you give to *her ships* the exclusive use of the ocean; and you give to her despairing West India planter the monopoly of sugar, and rum, and coffee, to the European world. It is in vain to say, Sir, that their produce will not find its way into Europe. Sugar and coffee, become necessities from habit; will find their way

to every portion of the continent, in spite of human regulations. Nay, some neutral point will be connived at to obtain them. But, Sir, who are we? What are we? a peaceable agricultural people, of simple, and, I trust, virtuous habits; of stout hearts, and willing minds, and a brave, powerful, but badly disciplined militia; unarmed, and without troops; and whom are we to come in conflict with? The master of continental Europe in the full career of universal dominion, and the mistress of the ocean, contending for self-preservation; nations who feel power and forget right. What man can be weak enough to suppose that a sense of justice can repress or regulate the conduct of Bonaparte. We need not resort to other nations for examples. Has he not, in a manner as *flagrant as flagitious, directly, openly, publicly violated and broken a solemn treaty entered into with us?* Did he not stipulate that our property should pass free even to enemy's ports? and has he not burnt our ships at sea, under the most causeless pretext? Look to England; see her conduct to us; do we want any further evidence of what she will do in this hour of impending peril, than the attack on Copenhagen, that she prostrates all rights that come in collision with her own preservation: strangely infatuated we should be to make our repealing the embargo, to depend on the acts of governments, which will be annulled whenever

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their interest or their danger prompt them ; no Sir, let us pursue the steady line of rigid impartiality. Let us hold the scales of impartial neutrality with a high and steady hand, and export our products to, and bring back supplies from, all who will trade with us. Much of the world is yet open to us, and let us profit of the occasion.

I am sorry to fatigue the committee, but I beg their indulgence, while I examine if it is constitutional to grant to the President the power of suspending a law.

A law of the United States to have effect, must have the assent of the *three* branches of government, the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. These three bodies, emanate from different sources, represent distinct and different interests, and must all concur.

1. The people of each State give *their* assent by *their* representatives.

2. The several States in their *sovereign political* capacities, assent by the senators who represent those sovereignties.

Lastly, the people of the United States, by the President and their representatives.

Each of these distinct interests, before a bill can legitimately pass into a law, must express their assent ; this once done, it becomes a law, and it is a conceded position that the power to repeal a law must be the same or co-extensive

with the power to make it. It is said that this resolution only grants the power on certain specified contingencies ; but is it so Mr. Chairman? Can we misunderstand the language of the resolution? On the happening of certain events the President *is solely the judge* if it is *safe and proper* to suspend the law. Now it is this power proposed to be given him of *solely judging* of the *propriety* of suspending a law, that I condemn ; because *we* transfer to *him* the right of judging whether a law shall remain in force or not, when it is *our duty* to judge if the same ought to be repealed or suspended. How can we judge of events yet to happen, the terms of which are unknown to us, whether they will afford proper grounds for suspending a law? It is impossible. If we are to act in this way, let us say, that when such events (designating them) happen, the law shall be suspended, and let the President give them publicity by proclamation. In this mode the suspension takes place through the constitutional legislative organ.

Let it not be said, it is too great an absurdity to suppose, that if we grant this power of *repealing* laws, we have an equal right to grant the President a power to *make* laws. I say, the constitution never left such a discretion to be used by us: if it has, no distant day determines our liberties, and legislatures will be found, hereafter, courtly and servile enough to devolve the power

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on the President, and ease themselves of the burden of legislation.

Every school-boy knows, that *Rome*, on extraordinary occasions, when assailed from without or within, took refuge in the *arbitrary, though temporary* power of a dictator. Habituating themselves to the government of *one* man, and no longer confiding in *themselves*, the transition was easy to a dictatorship for life. The result need not be pointed out, nor how dearly they paid for their *first* folly in the reigns of Nero and Domitian. I lay this down as a *political truism*, that *whenever a republic loses its reverence for self-government, and trusts the power of legislation to an individual, even for one act, it is undone*; the example once set, leads to certain and rapid destruction. I cannot, therefore, consent that the destinies of my country; that its laws shall be suspended on the will of *any individual*, however pre-eminent in virtue, dignified in station, or covered with the mantle of public opinion. The more his merit, the greater the danger. I must, therefore, Mr. Chairman, give my decided negative to the present resolution.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

THIS adopted citizen of the United States, is a native of Geneva, and removed to America about the year 1779 ; where, after surveying the country in different directions, he at length took up his residence in the western part of Pennsylvania. Until the insurrection in 1791 and 2, on account of the excise law, Mr. Gallatin was little known or noticed. But joining himself to a set of illiterate, lawless foreigners, and disappointed, unprincipled Americans, he became clerk to their committee, which was appointed to oppose the execution of the law. The following resolution will exhibit their sentiments on the subject: " That, whereas, some men be found among us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of our country, as to accept the office for the collection of the duty ;

" Resolved, therefore, that in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship ; have no intercourse or dealings with them ; withdraw from them every assistance, and *withhold all the comforts of life*, which depend upon those duties which, as men, and fellow-citizens, we owe to each other ; and upon all occasions treat them with the contempt they deserve : and

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that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly *recommended to the people at large*, to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

(Signed) "JOHN CANNON, Chairman.

"ALBERT GALLATIN, Clerk."

General Washington who was at that time President, endeavoured, as much as possible, to prevail on the insurgents to submit, but to no purpose. Accounts were received of immense crowds of these people meeting, and resolving, in the language of rebellion, to oppose the measures of government. An army was therefore marched against them, and the result was, the destruction of some houses, and the loss of several lives. Gallatin afterwards availed himself of an act of amnesty; but not till he saw there was no chance of escaping by any other means, the punishment due to his treason.

Such, however, was the violence of party-spirit in America, that in less than two years after this act of treason, Gallatin was chosen one of the members in Congress, for the state of Pennsylvania. It is of course needless to say, that his principles accorded with the democratic faction, and that he became one of their warmest partizans. Cobbett, in his political Censor, gives a ludicrous account of this gentleman in Congress. Speaking of the debate on the "appropriation for the mint," he adverts to an expression made

use of by Gallatin in delivering his sentiments on the occasion, where he says, "*that the House of Representatives have a right, by withholding appropriations when they see proper, to stop the wheels of government.*"

"When Mr. Gallatin," says Cobbett, rose from his seat to broach this clogging principle, there was an old farmer sitting beside me, to whom the person of the orator seemed familiar. "Ah, ah!" says he, "What's little Moses in Congress?" I sharply reprimanded him for taking one of our representatives for a Jew; but to confess a truth, the gentleman from Geneva has an accent not unlike that of a wandering Israelite. It is neither Italian, German, nor French; and were it not a sort of *leze republicanism*, I would say he clipped the king's English most unmercifully. Such an accent is admirably adapted for extolling the value of leaden buckles, or for augmenting the discordant howlings of a synagogue; but it throws a certain air of ridicule over the debates of a legislative assembly, and forms a sort of burlesque on the harmonious eloquence of the other members.

"When I told the good jog-trot to take care what he was saying, for that the personage then on his legs was no other than the great Gallatin, he opened his eyes, and with a look and voice expressive of an honest indignation. "What!" says he, "that same Gallatin, who was one of

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the leaders in the western insurrection?" I could not help smiling at the simplicity of my country friend, in not perceiving that such a circumstance was the highest proof of Mr. Gallatin's patriotism, and the only one that recommended him to the suffrages of his constituents. "No wonder," says the farmer, "that he wants to stop the wheels of government. I wish he'd attempt to stop the wheels of my waggon as I am going down hill." "God forgive me!" (says Cobbett) "but I believe I said *Amen*."

Such is the man, whom Mr. Jefferson afterwards thought fit to appoint to the important office of Secretary of the Treasury! That Mr. Gallatin possesses great financial talents is the only apology that can be urged in Mr. Jefferson's defence, for bestowing an office of so much trust on a foreigner, and a traitor to his adopted country.

 MR. DUANE.

Since I have touched upon one of Mr. Jefferson's protégés, I may as well go through with the list, and let the reader into the knowledge of such men as Duane, Tom Paine, &c. It has been one of the punishments inflicted on America for her sins; that hordes of revolutionary

Sansculottes and rebellious Irishmen have landed upon her coasts, and disturbed the peace of her citizens by their pernicious principles. It is also one proof, among many others, of the frailty of human nature, that Mr. Jefferson should have associated with such men, and even taken them under his care and patronage. Men who have been denounced by their own countries as traitors and rebels, and who have endeavoured to sow the seeds of insurrection and discord, even among those who have received them with open arms, and fostered them in the bosom of their families. But this is the "Age of Reason," says Paine and Mr. Jefferson, and that accounts for every thing that is otherwise unaccountable !

These protégées of the late President of the United States are thus described by the authors of the Echo :

" Who are the men, whose voice is heard
Whose wishes, or whose will revered ?
Who are the powers, these states obey ?
What sovereign is't that holds the sway ?—
—— A foreign, outcast, needy brood,
Blighted with crimes and ripe for blood—
That renegado, gallows train,
Which France and Ireland from their dungeons drain,
And showers, with a profusive hand,
Like Egypt's plagues upon our land.
Who *steal our letters*, rob our stores ?
Who lurk with firebrands round our doors ?

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Who plunder records of the state,
 The virtuous blast, belie the great?—
 —— A foreign, outcast, needy brood,
 Blighted with crimes and ripe for blood.—
 These are the miserable, worthless tools,
 By which the proud Virginian rules.
 In myriads, lo! the miscreants come,
 In search of freedom and of rum.
 Scarce do their footsteps reach the strand;
 Scarce do they press the fated land,
 Ere their whole souls with freedom burn,
 And convicts into patriots turn :
 On posts their greedy optics fix,
 Fir'd with th' spark of 'seventy-six,'
 Call Adams, Jay, and Elsworth tories,
 Rob Washington of all his glories,
 Claim for their own, our revolution,
 And fondly brood the constitution."

Such are those patriot heroes from France and Ireland, who have claimed America for their country; and such is Mr. Duane. This *gentleman* whose real name is *Dunn*, is by birth an Irishman, and from some cause or other best known to himself, attempted to seek an *honest* livelihood in the East Indies. There he became editor of a paper, and lived quiet enough, until he was turned out of the country by the Governor-general, for attempting to create a rebellion. From thence he emigrated to the land of liberty in the West, in order to illuminate the minds of the good citizens of the United States; among whom he considered there was room for improvement, notwithstanding they had declared themselves to

be "*the most enlightened people under the sun.*" Whether Mr. Duane, on his way to America, touched at any of the *enlightened* ports of France, I know not; but he certainly arrived in the United States full charged with revolutionary combustibles.

He had not long settled himself at Philadelphia before he began to instruct "*the most enlightened people under the sun,*" by publishing several seditious and inflammatory letters, addressed to General Washington. He also attended constantly in the Congress hall to catch every syllable that might be twisted and tortured to suit his purposes, until he was at length *turned out* of the hall, and forbidden to enter it, on account of his insolence to one of the federal members. These things, however, tended to raise him in the estimation of "*the most enlightened party*" in that country, and he soon after became editor of the "*Merchant's Advertiser.*" This he conducted for some time, until he quarrelled with the proprietor, respecting some *money* transactions; for notwithstanding he was a "*staunch patriot,*" *yet patriots must eat!*

From that time Mr. Duane has gradually risen into public notoriety, and for several years past has been the editor and proprietor of the *Aurora*, which was a kind of American *Moniteur*, during Mr. Jefferson's Presidency. The

question of "*Who steal our letters?*" as appears in the few lines which I have quoted from the *Echo*, applies particularly to this *gentleman*, on more than one occasion. The most recent transaction, however, of this nature was during the discussion of the differences between Great Britain and America, some time before Mr. Rose's arrival in that country; when some dispatches from England, directed to Mr. Erskine our minister, by some *mischance*, or other, found their way into Mr. Duane's hands: whether he opened them or not, I have not heard; but application was made to him for the dispatches, in order that they might be delivered to Mr. Erskine. This he refused to comply with, and had the effrontery to send them several hundred miles to Mr. Jefferson, who was then at his seat at Monticello. The President, however, immediately forwarded them to our minister in the same state as they were sent to him, without presuming to examine their contents.

Since then, Mr. Duane has been appointed colonel in the new regular army that was raised by the authority of Congress, and by those very people who were so loud in their outcries against a standing army, during Mr. Adams's Presidency. Thus, instead of receiving a rebuke from the President for his excessive impudence, he has been rewarded with a lucrative and *honourable* commission!

THOMAS PAINE.

THIS infamous and generally despised character resides in Broom-street, Bowery-road, New York; his last asylum in this world, and which, but for the unaccountable weakness of Mr. Jefferson, he never would have obtained in the United States. He lives secluded from all respectable society; for though there may be some who admire his principles, and read his works, yet they are ashamed, openly, to own his acquaintance, so that he really is generally despised. The Americans have shown their hatred of him to such a degree as even to attempt his assassination, by firing at him, as he sat in his parlour. This shews the detestation in which the people of the United States hold the man, who was invited to spend his last days there by Mr. Jefferson, "*with prayers for the success of his useful labours.*"

It is said, by some, that Paine was originally a stay-maker; others assert that he tried hard for the priesthood, but was rejected. Yet his desire for *praying* was so great, that for a time he actually became an itinerant preacher among the methodists. At all events it is certain, that he was a journeyman printer under Franklin, and in that capacity he wrote the pamphlet intitled "*Common Sense.*" An allusion to his

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original profession is, however, made in an anecdote which is related of him while in France. Being caught one day at a lady's feet, by her husband, the Frenchman, astonished at what he saw, exclaimed, "*Vat de devil be you doing Citizen Paine?*"—"Only," replied Paine, "*measuring your lady for a pair of stays.*" The Frenchman, quite pleased with Tom's answer, *kissed and thanked* him for his politeness.

Paine being possessed of the knack of writing, his talents were called into employment at the breaking out of the American revolution, and he was engaged to compose the pamphlet called *Common Sense*, for which he furnished the *language* and his employers the *ideas*. For this piece of service he received thirty dollars. The fame of this work brought him into notice, and he afterwards became private Secretary to Laurens, who went to France and Holland to negotiate a loan for the use of Congress. He continued in an official capacity during the greatest part of the war, and was actively employed in promoting the objects of the revolution by the efforts of his pen.

Until he wrote his "*Rights of Man*," Paine was little known on this side of the Atlantic: but that work had no sooner made its appearance in England, than the name of Paine resounded throughout Europe and America. The English jacobins stared at him at first: he went a

step farther than they ever dreamed of: his doctrines, however, grew familiar to their ears: they took him under their wing, and he made sure of another revolution. This security was his misfortune, and had nearly cost him a voyage to the South Sea.

From England Paine made his escape to Paris, where he became a member of the national assembly: but the Brissotine faction being shortly after overturned by that of Danton and Robespierre, Paine was thrown into prison. That he escaped the guillotine at that time, surprised even himself; and for what reason he was allowed the extraordinary *favour* of passing his days in a dungeon, will probably remain unknown. It is, however, certain, that he afterwards purchased his liberty by writing that infamous pamphlet "The Age of Reason." That it was done to make his court to the tyrants of the day cannot be doubted; for in all his former works, if he has occasion to speak of the Christian religion, he does it in a decent, if not respectful, language. In his Rights of Man, for instance, he extols toleration, and observes that *all religions are good*; but as soon as he got into his new-fashioned study, a dungeon, he discovered that *they were all bad*, or at least the Christian religion, and it was of the divers denominations of that religion that he before *pretended* to speak. Paine in his endeavours to demolish the Christian

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religion, should certainly have offered something better in its stead ; for where is the sense, in combating a religion, calculated to console the afflicted, to administer hope to the dying, and to regenerate the heart, when a better is not produced ? but he wrote to save his neck from the guillotine !

His fate in France was nearly what it was in America ; when it was no longer necessary to employ him, he sunk into neglect. Happy if he could have ceased *eating*, when his insurrection talents became useless ; but as he could not, he continued to write, and afterwards produced the second part of the *Age of Reason*. Those who prefer a few years of life to every thing else, may find an excuse for this degraded man : it is impossible for any of us to say how we should act at the foot of the guillotine. But the diabolical spirit of Paine was sufficiently exemplified even when that terror was removed. He wrote a letter to the directory recommending, that if the English executed Irishmen with *French* commissions, that the French should execute such Irish as they might take with *English* commissions. He also offered his best wishes, and a contribution of one hundred francs towards the invasion of England ; at the same time declaring, that until that nation was subjected to the dominion of France, there could be neither *peace* for the continent, nor *liberty* for an enslaved people.

"From that time," says an American writer, "Paine was only seen and known as a drunken blackguard in the streets, or heard of in the stews and garrets of Paris. And as order and religion gained ground in France, the name of Paine became every day more and more abhorred by men of character, and consequently by men in power. Without any prospect of laboring again successfully in his vocation of beguiling the uninformed, or of urging to deeds of wickedness and bloodshed, the corrupted portion of his fellow men in that country, he began to give himself up as a lost atom. In this situation, a situation truly miserable to infernal spirits, did he receive the consoling and affectionate letter from our philosophic President, '*written in the easy confidence of old acquaintance*, cordially inviting him to the bosom of his country, with prayers for the '*success of his useful labours!*' Gracious Heaven!" continues the writer, "that ever I should have advocated the views of such a man to the chief magistracy of the union!"

"It is upon our own records," says the same writer, "that Paine was cashiered and degraded for perfidy of conduct, while holding an office of confidential trust, under the old Congress of the United States. It is equally notorious that he had outlived, in this country, every thing like reputation or respectability of character; and

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that he was all but kicked out of every honourable or respectable company in Philadelphia, before he went to Europe. Notwithstanding these things, circumstances well known to our president, and notwithstanding he afterwards became, every day he lived, more and more conspicuously 'infamous for his many crimes,' still he has found, not only favour and countenance, but protection in the arms of the man, whom the evil genius of America, in an unguarded hour, placed in her presidential chair."

Nothing has tended so much to depreciate Mr. Jefferson in the eyes of the people, as his inviting Paine to settle in the United States. Even his own party have condemned it, and shewn their displeasure, by treating Paine with the most unqualified contempt. During the first month or two of the embargo, Mr. Jefferson was weak enough to write Paine a letter, respecting the state of public affairs; this was published in the "Public Advertiser," a paper in which Paine has some concern. All the democratic party, who had any regard for their reputation, refused to give credit to it, and said that Mr. Jefferson, however he might, from humanity, have given Paine the liberty of residing in the country, he would not degrade himself by holding a correspondence with him. Paine, however, persisted that he did receive the letter, and offered to produce the original; but it was sent him *in confi-*

dence. He acknowledged he had done wrong in publishing it; but it was to ease the minds of the people, which, at that time, were distracted by a variety of rumours.

Paine has lately petitioned Congress for a remuneration of his services during the revolutionary war; and says, that he then threw away talents that would have made his fortune. The petition is very peremptory, and concludes with stating, that if they refuse to *recompense* him for his services, "*It will not tell well in history.*" Paine is right in this respect; but his *recompense* should be just sufficient to procure him a *halter*.

The Public Advertiser frequently contains private letters from England, addressed to Paine; wherein the people of that country are represented according to the circumstances of the moment; either in a state of insurrection, or sunk into apathy, bordering on despair. They also state that he has many *friends* in England. These letters, however, appear to be mere fabrications, or the flattering effusions of some factious demagogue; for I believe at this day, Paine would find it a difficult matter to get one man of respectability in any country, (save and except Mr. Jefferson) to own acquaintance with him

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THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT is the son of Dr. Robert Emmett, formerly an eminent physician in Ireland; and was originally brought up to his father's profession; but in 1787 he became a student of the Middle Temple, London, and was admitted a barrister in the Irish Courts in 1790. Dr. Emmett had two other sons, Temple and Robert. The former who was bred up to the law, died at an early age; and the latter fell a victim to revolutionary principles, being executed in Dublin, in 1803, on account of the insurrection which terminated in the death of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice of Ireland.

Thomas Addis Emmett, who with his brothers had always been attached to democratic principles, joined the confederacy of United Irishmen, in 1790 and 1791; which ultimately led to the rebellion of 1798. The event of that unhappy contest is well known; and Mr. Emmett, together with Arthur O'Connor, Dr. McNevin, and other leading revolutionists, were apprehended, and imprisoned in Fort George, in Scotland.

During the peace of 1802, Mr. Emmett, and the rest of his fellow-prisoners, were liberated, and allowed to reside in France. The subject of this memoir, however, true to democratic princi-

ples, soon became disgusted with the despotic tyranny of Buonaparte, and left the enslaved French, to enjoy freedom in America. There he was received by the ruling party with congratulations, and by the federalists with civility.

Mr. Emmett has settled at New York, and practises as counsellor at law, with considerable success. He is married, and has several children: and appears between forty and fifty years of age. He is said to be amiable in private life, and eminent in his public capacity. Unfortunately his enmity to Great Britain, and predilection for political contests, has tempted him to mingle in the disputes which distract and divide the citizens of New York. It is said that he aspires to a seat in Congress, and consequently administers to the prejudices of the prevailing party, which, luckily for his consistency, happens to harmonize with his political enmity to Great Britain. Yet he should have refrained from endeavouring to widen the breach, in a city where he has experienced so much hospitality and kindness.

I had an opportunity once of hearing him plead in an action brought by Messrs. Wrights, Quakers, against the underwriters at New York. It was for the insurance of a ship from New York to Batavia, and back. On her return voyage, the vessel was carried into Barbadoes and condemned, for having sold two cables, and a hundred pieces of duck to the Dutch government at

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Batavia, which was considered as a breach of neutrality, by supplying a belligerent with naval stores, of which he was greatly in want. The plea set up was, "That the Batavian government being greatly distressed for those stores, and understanding that such were on board the ship, insisted upon having them; and that the captain did not think it prudent to risk the safety of his ship, by refusing their demand." He, however, had made neither protest, nor opposition of any kind; but had erased the entry of the sale of them, which had been made in the log-book, by the mate. It was the suspicion arising from the last circumstance, that had caused the detention of the vessel, and led to its final condemnation. Mr. Emmett pleaded for the owners. His arguments were, 1st. That the surplus of naval stores carried out, were necessary for the safety of the ship, and were no more than a fair proportion for so long a voyage. 2nd. That the necessities of the Batavian government were so urgent, for those stores, that they valued them above money; and to have resisted their demand, would have caused the seizure of the ship. 3rd. That the ship afterwards went from Batavia to the Isle of Bourbon, took in a cargo and sailed for America, was taken on her passage, and condemned, by the British, at Barbadoes. He therefore contended, that though the former cargo might be contraband of war, and illegally disposed of, it did not affect the

home cargo. 4th. That, at all events, whether the condemnation was just or illegal, the underwriters insured risks, and ought to pay.

A verdict was given in favour of the plaintiffs for 72,000 dollars. Emmett is a plain dressing man, and appears about forty-five years of age. He speaks with more vehemence than eloquence, and seems rather fond of amplification and verbosity.

The spectators in court were much pleased with the decision of the jury; for the underwriters will seldom pay the insurance upon a vessel without an action, though the case, perhaps, will hardly admit of a dispute. I do not believe there are any people in the world more keen and shrewd in business than the Americans; or that will yield up a point that militates against their interest, with greater reluctance. In their transactions with each other, it is often diamond cut diamond, as will appear by the following anecdote: Mr. B——, an eminent merchant, expecting the arrival of a valuable vessel every day, gave orders to Mr. H——, an underwriter, for its insurance. In a few hours after, news were brought him, that his vessel had gone ashore in a gale of wind, and was lost within a few miles of Sandy Hook. The old gentleman was afraid the underwriter would get information of it, before the insurance was made, and therefore sent his clerk instantly to Mr. H——, to say, that if

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he had not filled up the policy, he did not wish him to do it, *as there was now no occasion for it*. The other being ignorant of the fact, thought that the vessel had arrived safe in port, and instantly replied that it was already made out : this, however, was not the case ; but he directly stepped into a back room, made his clerk fill up the policy, returned with it to the counting-house, and delivered it to Mr. B——'s clerk. In a quarter of an hour after, he learnt that the vessel was totally lost. He was so mortified at the *bite*, that he refused to pay the insurance ; but Mr. B—— brought an action against him, and recovered the whole amount.

M. GENET.

THE intriguing agents of France, have borne a conspicuous figure in America ever since the French revolution. Not, however, that the ministers of that nation who resided in the states, before that event, were more honest, or less dangerous ; but they certainly were more discreet in the management of their intrigues, and less insolent in their conduct to the government. We are in possession of sufficient documents to prove that France, while she was assisting the Americans to throw off the English yoke, was secretly

employed in endeavouring to purchase the colonies for herself. Her agents were scattered over the country; and the dispositions of the leading men were sounded by every artifice that intrigue could invent. Fortunately for the United States, and for Great Britain, General Washington presided at the head of affairs; and saved his country from becoming the *tool*, perhaps the *willing instrument* of France. Hence it appears that the United States, even from the very hour of her independence, has been in danger from the insidious alliance and friendship of France; and that the numerous intriguers who have sprung up since the French revolution, are not to be considered as the first of their kind who have made their appearance in that country. They have only rendered themselves and their objects more notorious, by their bold and insolent conduct.

The first and most impudent ambassador from revolutionary France, was M. Genet; who arrived in America in 1793. The French revolution had, by this time, disposed all the factious and discontented part of the Americans to espouse the cause of France, who had just declared war against England. The attachment of the federal government to a pacific system, was well known in France. Genet was therefore instructed, in case he should not be able to shake this attachment, either by promises or threats, to apply himself to the *sovereign people* themselves; whose

partiality, it had been represented, and with too much truth, had received a strong bias in favour of the usurpers. In order to pave the way for acting in the last resort, he disembarked at a point the most distant from the seat of government, that he might have it in his power to act on some part of the people at least, before the sentiments of their government, respecting him and his mission, were known: he accordingly landed at Charleston, South Carolina, where he knew the people were prepared to receive him with open arms.

No sooner was Genet on shore, than he began to exercise his powers as sovereign of the country. He commissioned land and sea officers to make war upon the Spanish and the English; he fitted out privateers, and opened rendezvous' for the enrolling both soldiers and sailors. The French flag was seen waving from the windows in this *sans-culotte* city, just as if it had been a sea-port of France. Genet was sent expressly to engage the country to take a part in the war, and such was his contempt for the government, that he did not look upon its consent as a thing worth asking for, or thinking about.

After remaining at Charleston from the 9th to the 19th of April, 1793, the *sans-culotte corps diplomatique* marched off for Philadelphia, where it arrived on the 9th of May. His reception, by the Jacobin party in that city, exceeded all bounds

of propriety: processions, dinners, salutes, and entertainments of various kinds, were given in honour of the event; all the French revolutionary songs were sung; and citizens of all descriptions, high and low, rich and poor, fraternized, and got drunk together.

The citizen minister, however, was very formally received, and acknowledged in his diplomatic capacity by the president of the United States. There, indeed, his reception was not quite so warm. He afterwards complained, that the first object which struck his eye in the chamber, was the bust of Louis XVI. This silent reproof, which must, however, be attributed to mere accident, stung the insolent Genet to the soul: but a cold reception was not the rub that Genet most complained of. The federal government, informed of his bold beginnings at Charleston, made no doubt that his instructions went to the engaging it in war. Indeed these instructions were made known from the moment of his landing; and it cannot be doubted but this had considerable influence on the conduct of General Washington, who thereupon issued a proclamation of neutrality.

This wise and determined step, Genet's masters had not foreseen; or, if they did foresee it, they were not aware that it would be taken before their missionary could find time to make his warlike proposals to the government. This was

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a cruel disappointment to the citizen, and completely baffled all his projects. In vain did he endeavour to draw the old general from his ground; neither promises nor threats had any effect upon him; and Genet soon found that he had no hope but in rousing the people to oppose their government.

A man of more penetration than Genet might have conceived such a project feasible, from the violent partiality that every where appeared towards the French; and from the little respect testified for the opinion of the government. Besides the antifederal party began to appear with more boldness than ever. Genet was continually surrounded with them; and as they sighed for nothing so much as for war, they strengthened him in the opinion that the people would ultimately decide in his favour.

"But there wanted," says Cobbett, "something like a regular plan to unite their forces, and bring them to act in concert." A dinner here, and a supper there, were nothing at all. The drunkards went home, snorted themselves sober, and returned to their employments. It was not as in France, where a single tap upon a drum-head would assemble *canaille* enough to overturn forty federal governments in the space of half a night. In America, there existed all the materials for a revolution, but they were scattered here and there: affiliated clubs were wanting to render them

compact and manageable, as occasion might demand.

Genet did not judge it prudent to give the American Jacobins the same name that had been assumed by those in France; that would have been too glaring an imitation. *Democratic* was thought less offensive, and therefore adopted. The mother-club in America, met at Philadelphia (the then seat of government) on the 3rd of July, 1793, about six or seven weeks after Genet's arrival in that city, during which time, it is well ascertained, more than *twenty thousand louis d'ors* had been distributed.

As to those who placed themselves at the head of the democrats, speaking of them generally, they were very little esteemed, either as private or public characters. Few of them were men of property, and such as were, owed their possession to some casual circumstance, rather than to family, industry, or talents. *The bulk of political reformers is always composed of needy, discontented men, too indolent or impatient to advance themselves by fair and honest means, and too ambitious to remain quiet in obscurity.* Such, with very few exceptions, were those who appeared among the leaders of the American jacobins.

The effects of the institution soon became apparent from one end of the United States to the other. The blaze did not indeed communicate

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itself with such rapidity as it had done in France, nor did it rage with so much fury when it had caught ; but this must be ascribed to the nature of the materials, and not to any want of art or malice on the part of the incendiaries. The Americans are phlegmatic, slow to act, extremely cautious, and difficult to be discovered. However, such was the indefatigableness of the democratic clubs, that more enmity to the general government was excited in the space of six months than was raised against the colonial government at the time of the declaration of independence.

The leading object was to stimulate the people to a close imitation of the French revolutionists. Every act, or expression, that bore the marks of politeness or gentility, soon began to be looked upon (to use their own words) as a sort of *leze-republicanism*. All the new-fangled terms of the regenerated French were introduced and made use of. The word *citizen*, that stalking-horse of modern liberty-men, became almost as common in America as in France ; and people began to *be-citizen* each other with as much familiarity as the red-headed ruffians of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.

The *citizens* of France had just given signal proof of their patriotic valour, in making war upon the old busts and statues of their kings and nobles ; and those of America were deter-

mined not to be behind-hand with them, as far as lay in their power. Lord Chatham's statue, erected by the people of Charleston, South Carolina, as a mark of their esteem for the part he took in pleading the cause of America, was drawn up into the air, by means of jack and pullies, and absolutely *hanged*, not until it was *dead*, but till *the head separated from the body*. A statue of his lordship which had also been erected at New York, in honour of his interference in favour of the Americans, was also *beheaded*, and the materials of which it was composed, were employed in the erection, not of a temple of *Fame*, but a temple of *Cloacina* ! The statue of Lord Bottetourt, a piece of exquisite workmanship, which stood in the town-house of Williamsburgh, in Virginia, was *beheaded* by the students of that place ; and every mark of indignity such as ignoble minds can shew, was heaped on the resemblance of a man to whom the fathers of these students had yielded all possible testimony of love and esteem. Several streets were also re-baptized, and every little lane or alley, that bore the marks of royalty in its name, was christened by some title more appropriate to the sentiments of the day.

The delirium seized even the women and children ; and the former began to talk about liberty and equality in a good masculine style. A third part of the children, at least, were decorated,

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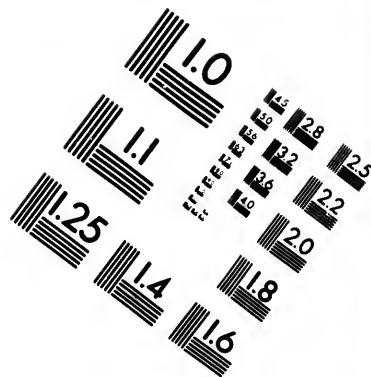
like their wise sires, in tri-coloured cockades. "Dansons la Carmagnole," pronounced in broken accent, was echoed through every street and alley of Philadelphia, both by boys and girls. Some ingenious democratic poet, had composed the following lines,

" Englishman no hon for me,
Frenchman fight for liberty."

This distich, which at once shews the prevailing sentiments, and exhibits an instance of that kind of jargon which was become fashionable, was chaunted about by young and old. Nor were marks of ferocity wanting. At a dinner at Philadelphia, (at which, it is said, Governor Mifflin was present) a *roasted pig* became the representative of Louis the XVth, and it being the anniversary of his murder, the pig's head was severed from his body, then carried round to each of the party, who, after placing the liberty cap on his own head, pronounced the word *tyrant*, and gave the poor little grunter's head, a chop with his knife.

It is but just, however, to observe, that a very great majority of the people of America abhorred these demonstrations of a sanguinary spirit; nor would it be going too far to assert, that two-thirds of the democrats were *foreigners*, landed in the United States since the war. The charge that attaches to the people in general, is,

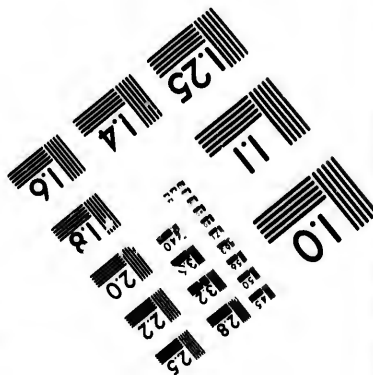
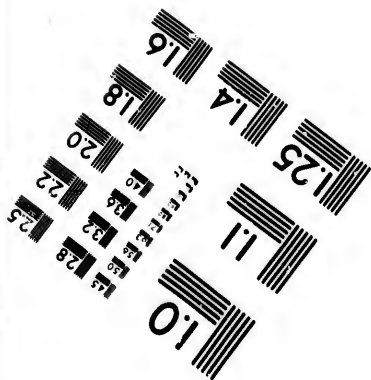




Resolution Test Chart (NBS 1010-A) showing various line patterns and numerical values:

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that these things were suffered to pass unapproved. The friends of order and of humanity were dilatory ; like persons of the same description in France, they seemed to be waiting till the sons of equality came to cut their throats ; and if they have finally escaped, it is to be ascribed to mere chance, or to any thing rather than their own exertions.

While the democratic societies were thus poisoning the minds of the people, familiarizing them to insurrection and blood, Genet was not idle. He had surrounded himself with a troop of horse, enlisted and embodied in Philadelphia. These were in general *Frenchmen*, and no one can doubt but they were intended to act either on the offensive or defensive, as occasion might require.

As the democrats increased in strength and impudence, other men grew timid. No one ventured to whisper his disapprobation of the conduct of the French : every one, even of their most savage acts was applauded : robbery and murder were called *national justice* in America, as well as in France. The people, properly so called, were cowed down, and things seemed as ripe for a revolution there, as they were in France in the month of July, 1790.

The country was, however, happily saved from this dreadful scourge by the hasty indiscretion of the French minister. The light-headed Frenchman

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was intoxicated with his success, and conceived that the moment was arrived for him to set the government at defiance, and call on the people for support: but no sooner had he expressed his intention of "*appealing from the president to the sovereign people,*" than he found he had been too sanguine.

Genet's insolence produced a complaint on the part of the American government, which terminated in his recall: but Genet was too well aware of the bloody scenes that were acting in France to venture to return there, particularly since he had been unsuccessful in his mission. He therefore preferred remaining in the United States, where he had already married into a respectable American family, and retired to a plantation in the country, which he had purchased with some of his revolutionary louis d'ors.

ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS

THIS man, who figured away in America during the French revolutionary mania, as the tool of Genet, and one of the founders of the democratic society, is thus mentioned by an American writer:

"This famous sans-culotte is a creole of Javol. III.

maica, sent to England by the bounty of a relation, where he was educated. What lessons he received there, we can only judge of, by the fruit they produced. If they were those of morality and political integrity, they must have been perverted by the natural depravity of his mind. He there married a decent woman, and when of age, returned to Jamaica; but finding the climate of the tropics not suited to the inflammatory disposition of his brain, he came here with his wife, accompanied by his brother Stewart Dallas, and his family, under all the appearances of wretchedness and poverty, naturally produced by the indolence and vices of an unsettled life. Stewart soon found he could not get bread to eat here, and returned to the island, where expensive clothing and winter fuel were not necessary.

“ Our hero’s resources were more fruitful: he hired a garret, where he snugged it in a cheap way, with his wife and child. Here, by writing a ballad now and then, for the poetical retailers of the streets; making once in a while, a seaman’s will, and acting, occasionally, as a copyist for a low-priced conveyancer, he made shift to provide a scanty supply of victuals; the rent was left to chance. Very fortunately for him, and unfortunately for this poor state, some favourable incident introduced him to the notice of Hallam and Henry, proprietors of the old the-

atre, who took him into pay on low wages, to write squibs for them, and puff up their pieces; besides which, he used to act, in emergencies, as deputy prompter.

" This bettered his circumstances; but so prone was he to pleasure and vanity, that the hard-earned acquisitions of a month, would be laid out, with the addition of what little credit he could procure for domestic supplies, in a dance and supper, for a Saturday night (after he had got a set of down-stair's rooms) in order to support his consequence with a few fashionable acquaintance he had address enough to mix with, though in the ensuing week, his house would be assailed for debts under forty shillings, without number. In this way, however, he rubbed along by hook or by crook, sometimes with a full board, at other times with an empty one; until, most fortunately for him, the federal Constitution of the United States was proposed for public discussion.

" As no hirelings were wanted by the respectable citizens and people of property, he instantly declared for the opposition. Here, he first made himself noticed by the vociferation of his howlings, and by the Billingsgate invective of his writing. This, to quote the phrase of his friend, Genet, " was a grand movement for Dallas. Our democrats soon discovered he would make an active tool, and be an useful instrument in

their hands. Governor Mifflin, therefore, took him into patronage, and brought him forward into public life, as *Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. It was, however, privately understood between them, that he was also to be the governor's secretary, that is, to write his speeches and answers, to scandalize and bespatter his opponents, to fetch, carry, and—for him; and in short, do what no one but a convict, to save his devoted neck, would have condescended to undertake. Various, however, as were the functions of his new office, our hero soon became expert, and followed up his beginnings with so much art and impudence, that the master was soon converted into the man; and his excellency, our chaste, honest, sober, and patriotic governor, became the mere cat's-paw of the secretary.

“In this situation he came forward as the sophisticated supporter of that arch-fiend Genet, and exerted all his address to protect him from the bold and manly exposure of his base practices, by Mr. Jay, and Mr. King: the event, however, sunk our secretary still more in the opinion of honest men, but attached him closer to “our Sister Republic.” He became a *French advocate with a very liberal salary*; assumed the direction of the democratic societies founded by Genet, and completely governed the mother-club: the jacobins rallied round him, and no

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one figured with more *eclat* in town-meeting harangues to a giddy populace. Genet recommended him to Fauchet, whose favours he shared, as one of the famous flour merchants. The cords of union were drawn still closer between him and citizen Adet, of blunderbuss-memory; and it is supposed his circumstances are now so easy, that he has had the fortitude to keep clear of the over-drawings on the bank of Pennsylvania, in which so many of his friends were concerned.

“ He has since figured as the abuser of President Washington; the justifier of Munro, and the defender of Blount; as a constant paragraphist for Bache’s filthy repository, and an active opposer of federal measures in every way. This then is the man. He is part creole, and part English. More French than either, and so variable are his politics, that the highest bidder may always be sure of them.”

M. TALLEYRAND.

GENET had no sooner been deprived of his functions by the American government, than he was succeeded by others equally dangerous, but more cautious in their intrigues. The French minister Fauchet, trod exactly in Genet's steps, without venturing upon so much publicity; and he left no stone unturned, in order to involve the States in a war with England. After him followed Adet, a man of equally dangerous principles, but being thus in a public capacity, his actions were under considerable restraint; to remedy this, the French directory employed numerous other agents as spies, who, under the pretence of being proscribed in their own country, found a favourable reception in the United States. Among these treacherous guests, was the apostate Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand de Peregor.

"Talleyrand," says one of his biographers, "is descended from the ancient sovereigns of the province of Peregor, in the South of France. His father, a younger brother, with a small fortune, destined his son, early in life, for the church. Before twenty years of age he possessed several rich abbeys, and before thirty, was made bishop of Autun, much against the inclination of the virtuous Louis XVIth, who had heard that the

Abbé de Peregord was one of the most immoral, but insinuating *roués* and libertines in France.

“ When at college, Talleyrand shewed an early genius for intrigues, and a strong propensity to vice ; and, but for the defect of being lame, he would, according to the wish of his governors, have disgraced the army, instead of scandalizing the church ; because he was always as great a coward in his private quarrels, as daring when supported in his public plots. The revolution found him a gamester, a debauchee, and a bankrupt ; without honour, principles, or probity. He openly intrigued with a married lady ; and her son by him, was lately an aid-de-camp to Louis Buonaparte.

“ In 1789, when a member of the national assembly, the gown of the bishop did not long conceal the modern philosopher, and the fashionable atheist. He was one of the first traitors to his king, and the first apostate to his religion. The 2nd November, 1789, upon the motion of Talleyrand, the confiscation of the church-property in France was decreed ; and, such is the incomprehensible will of Providence, that after years of wars, murders, and crimes, this same man has been lately the disposer of all the church-property both in Germany and Italy. This motion to dispose of the property of others, *by a person who had no property but debts*, may be considered as the foundation, in France, of all the

cruel confiscations and plunders, as well as the proscriptions of owners of estates, lands, or money. It has caused the ruin and wretchedness of millions ; but it has enriched Talleyrand and his accomplices.

“ In May, 1790, he was one of the members of the diplomatic committee, headed by Mirabeau, upon whose report it was decreed by the national assembly, and sanctioned by the king, *that France renounced for ever all conquests*. Since then, he he has never concluded a treaty, or entered into any negociations without aggrandizing the territory and power of France. In the same year, when a member of the ecclesiastical committee, he planned the intolerant, and impolitic decree, which made distinction between a constitutional, and a nonjuring clergy, which has caused so many torments, dissensions, and civil wars ; and which still continues to divide the Gallican church.

“ In June, 1791, Talleyrand was in the secret of La Fayette, to betray his king into that improvident journey to Varennes, which produced so many insults, humiliations, suspicions and accusations ; and which was the principal cause of all the subsequent sufferings of the king and his family. In the spring of 1792, Talleyrand accompanied the French minister Chauvelin to England. After the late constitution, he could not, for some years, occupy any public employment ; but Chauvelin was only the nominal, Talleyrand was the

real minister, and instigator of all the plots, intrigues, and conspiracies, in and against England that year.

"Robespierre's faction having caused a decree of outlawry to pass against Talleyrand, he was prevented from returning to France; but might have continued in England, had he not, in return for the hospitality he met with, treacherously endeavoured to embroil the nation in all the horrors that had distracted his own country. In consequence of this, he was ordered to depart the kingdom, and being thus proscribed every where in Europe, he, in 1794, went to America."

In that country he became a spy, in order to ingratiate himself with the directory; but that no suspicion should attach to him, he first set up at New York as a *merchant and dealer*, till he had acquired what knowledge he thought was to be procured, among persons engaged in mercantile concerns. After this he removed to Philadelphia, at that time the seat of government, and assumed the character of a *gentleman*. There he insinuated himself, if not into the *best*, at least, into the *most fashionable* families; and got access to persons of the first rank, who were connected with, or in the confidence of, the government. He pried into all the concerns of the merchants; into the strength and finances of the government; and in short, followed, most industriously and effectually, his business as a *spy*.

He was continually closetted with Adet the French minister, and no doubt managed, through him, to obtain an act of oblivion from the directory.

"Some months after Talleyrand's arrival in Philadelphia," says Cobbett, "he left a message with a friend of his, requesting me to meet him at that friend's house. Several days passed away before the meeting took place: I had no business to call me that way, and therefore I did not go. At last, this modern Judas and I got seated by the same fire-side. I expected that he wanted to expostulate with me on the severe treatment he had met with at my hands: I had called him an apostate, a hypocrite, and every other name of which he was deserving. I, therefore, leave to the reader to imagine my astonishment, when I heard him begin with complimenting me on my *wit* and *learning*. He praised several of my pamphlets, the New Year's gift in particular, and still spoke of them as mine. I did not acknowledge myself the author, of course; but yet he would insist that I was; or at any rate, they reflected, he said, *infinite honour* on the author, let him be who he might.

"Having carried this species of flattery as far as he judged it safe, he asked me, with a vast deal of apparent seriousness, whether I had received my education at *Oxford* or at *Cambridge*! Hitherto I had kept my countenance pretty well;

but this abominable stretch of hypocrisy, and the placid mein and silver accent with which it was pronounced, would have forced a laugh from a Quaker in the midst of a meeting. I do not recollect what reply I made him; but this I recollect well, I gave him to understand that I was no trout, and consequently was not to be caught by tickling.

“ This information led him to something more solid. He began to talk about *business*. I was no *flour merchant*, but I taught English; and as luck would have it, this was the very commodity that bishop Peregord wanted. If I had taught Thornton's or Webster's language, or sold sand, or ashes, or pepper-pot, it would have been just the same to him. He knew the English language as well as I did; but he wanted to have dealings with me in some way or other.

“ I knew, that notwithstanding his being proscribed at Paris, he was extremely intimate with Adet; and this circumstance led me to suspect his real business in the United States: I therefore did not care to take him as a scholar. I told him, that being engaged in a translation for the press, I could not possibly quit home. This difficulty, the lame fiend hopped over in a moment. He would very gladly come to my house. I cannot say but it would have been a great satisfaction to me, to have seen the *ci-devant* bishop of Autun, the guardian of the holy oil

that anointed the heads of the descendants of St. Louis, come trudging through the dirt to receive a lesson from me ; but on the other hand, I did not want a French spy to take a survey either of my desk or my house. My price for teaching was *six* dollars a month ; he offered me *twenty* ; but I refused ; and before I left him, I gave him clearly to understand that I was not to be purchased."

Talleyrand, soon after this, returned to Paris, and became minister for foreign affairs to the directory. In that situation he had favourable opportunities to turn his former intrigues to a good account with the ministers of other countries : and since his elevation under his imperial master, his success in the various negociations in which he has been engaged, may partly be attributed to the knowledge which he possesses of the cabinet-secrets of foreign nations.

GENERAL MOREAU.

This celebrated general was born at Morlaix, in Low Brittany, now included in the department of La Vendée. His father was a man of great respectability, and on account of his integrity, disinterestedness, and private virtues, (although a lawyer) was generally called the *father of the*

poor. On the breaking out of the revolution, such was the general confidence in his honesty, that he was selected by the gentry and nobility of Morlaix, and its neighbourhood, more especially those who proposed to emigrate, as the the most proper person to be entrusted with the management of their affairs. The great number of deposits which he received on this occasion from the nobles and emigrants, contributed not a little to bring him afterwards to the guillotine. He was put to death at Brest, under the government of Robespierre, by order of Prieur, then on a mission in the department of Finisterre.

It is not a little remarkable, that on the very same day the father suffered by the command of the tyrant, the victorious son entered Sluys in triumph, and added it to the dominions of the Republic! Several eye-witnesses have declared, that the people present at his execution, shed torrents of tears, exclaiming several times, "*They are taking our father away from us!*"

Young Moreau evinced, from his early youth a strong prepossession for a military life, and at the age of eighteen, actually enlisted as a soldier. His father, however, who considered this conduct as the effect of imprudence, bought his *congé*, and sent him back to resume his studies. Whether the law proved an unpleasant profession to him, or whether his propensity for arms got

the better of every other inclination, it is certain that he soon enlisted again.

The elder Moreau, hurt at this second act of rashness, with a view that he might experience some of the hardships of the life he had chosen, suffered him to serve as a private for a few months; after which, he was prevailed upon by his friends, not to let the young man continue any longer in that low condition, as it would occasion him to lose the benefit of an early education. Before the revolution, a man who was not of the cast of *noblesse*, had but little hope of advancement in the army, whatever might have been his merit. Moreau was, therefore, almost in spite of himself, compelled again to return to the dry study of the law, and to follow the profession of his father, who was eminent in this line.

When the revolution took place, Moreau was *Précôt de droit* at Rennes, a mark of superiority among the students in law. In that office he acquitted himself to the complete satisfaction of every body. In 1788 the States of Brittany assembled at Rennes; but there being a disunion between the privileged orders and the *tiers état* young Moreau, with three others, was deputed, on the part of the people, to confer with the assembly. He, and his colleagues, managed this affair with so much ability, that the popular party obtained a complete triumph. The States

were dissolved, and the young men of Nantz who had assembled in great numbers, returned home peaceably.

From this period Moreau's reputation daily increased ; and upon the formation of the national guards in 1789, he was made colonel of one of the battalions. This honourable situation furnished Moreau with an opportunity of indulging his inclination for a military life. He accordingly soon abandoned the dry and tedious study of the law, and applied himself to tactics, with such steadiness, that in less than three months he was perfectly adequate to the command which had been entrusted to him. Expert military men have declared, that he became so great a proficient in his new study, as to be better acquainted with the management of a battalion, and the evolution and manœuvres incident to it, than many old officers. Such, at that time, was the persuasion of Moreau of his own capacity for military affairs, that he was heard several times to exclaim, " I shall soon become a commander." He indeed laboured so successfully to obtain his object, that his skillfulness and courage were not long unnoticed, especially while serving under Pichegru. He was, in June, 1794, promoted to the rank of general-in-chief, and conducted the siege of Ypres, which he took in twelve days after the opening of the trenches.

It is not necessary that I should follow Gene-

ral Moreau in his victorious career during the various campaigns in which he has served with so much credit to himself, and benefit to his country; for to detail his actions in a manner worthy of so celebrated a character, they should occupy volumes rather than a few pages. The famous retreat from Bavaria, and the battle of Hohenlinden, are, however, the *chef d'œuvres* of Moreau; and he needs no other trophy to establish his character as one of the greatest generals of the age.

Moreau, notwithstanding his brilliant services in the cause of his country, has experienced nothing but insults and ingratitude in return. The man, who, after the victory of Hohenlinden, said to Moreau, "*General, you have made the campaign of a consummate and great captain, while I have only made the campaign of a young and fortunate man,*" became his greatest enemy. Buonaparte could ill brook such a rival as Moreau; and, notwithstanding the latter was generally beloved by the army and the people, he had no sooner usurped the crown of France, than he contrived to ruin him.

Moreau, indeed, made no secret of his sentiments respecting Buonaparte's usurpation; and he was heard to declare, at a ball at Madame Recamier's, where many of the Corsican's favourites were present, "That it is, and must be, an eternal indelible shame and reproach to thirty mil-

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lions of Frenchmen, not to find amongst themselves one individual with talents enough to govern them, and to suffer the despotism of a cruel foreigner, who has waded through floods of French blood, to usurp the throne of France."

With every acknowledgement of Moreau's disinterested patriotism, and integrity, it cannot be supposed that he could view the conduct of Buonaparte without sentiments of envy and jealousy at his success. It is not in the nature of man to feel otherwise; and particularly such a man as Moreau, who knew himself to be both an older officer, and a more able General. He therefore courted, rather than shunned, the displeasure of his rival, and I question whether he does not feel more satisfaction in his exile, than if he was living in France, and mingling with the upstarts of the court of St. Cloud.

Buonaparte, it may naturally be supposed, wanted very little stimulus to rid himself of Moreau. He would no doubt gladly have sent him to the guillotine along with Georges and the rest of the Chouans; but he dreaded the resentment of the people and the army. A deportation was therefore the only remedy; and Moreau was sent to spend the remainder of his days in America.

His conduct during his residence in that country has been the subject of much newspaper

criticism and private remark ; though as far as I have been able to judge, his behaviour seems irreproachable. The country has indeed been for many years past, and is at this day, so beset with the intriguing emissaries of France, that the public who are too apt to view things superficially, watch the motions of General Moreau with the utmost suspicion ; and every little action of his for which they cannot account, is immediately set down to his disadvantage. The natural reserve of General Moreau, and the desire which he appears to have of remaining as private as possible, are also calculated to feed the suspicions of the multitude ; the greater part of whom, consider him in the light of a French spy. His journey to New Orleans, in 1808, gave rise to a thousand rumours, and served to create alarm in the minds of those who had become tired of the very name of revolution. Hence his situation even in America is far from being pleasant to a man of a noble and generous mind, who scorns to imbue his hands in the blood of his fellow-creatures, to serve a mean and ignoble purpose.

That General Moreau (as many people suppose) is the tool of Buonaparte, and his secret agent in America, I cannot, from the known integrity of his character, for a moment believe. Never, surely, would he renounce all his hard-

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earned honours in the field of battle, to become a *subordinate villain* ! He has already declared his detestation of the usurper, and his measures ; to *serve* such a man, he must participate in his crimes, and partake of his character.

MADAME JEROME BUONAPARTE.

KEEN as the Americans are, they have often been the dupes of Frenchmen ; and I should think they have, by this time, had experience enough to avoid drawing the connexion between the two countries any closer. The assistance which the old government of France rendered to the Americans in the revolutionary war, is now well known to have proceeded from sinister designs ; and the Emperor Napoleon we all know, excels in artful intrigues, and treacherous dissimulation ; of course, he is not likely to act in a more honourable manner than his predecessors.

The Americans have been insulted in various instances by individuals, as well as the government of that nation ; and the marriage of Jerome Buonaparte with Miss P. will ever remain a lasting memorial of the morality and good faith of the Buonapartean dynasty. Such

an infamous transaction, might perhaps have roused the indignation of the American people more than it has, had they not known that Miss P. was prompted more by *ambition* than love, to marry Napoleon's brother.

Madame Buonaparte is small in person and features, but extremely pretty; she is elegant and accomplished in manners, though somewhat tinctured with *hauteur*; yet her disposition upon the whole is amiable, and she possesses attractions and qualifications that would give a lustre even to the Court of Westphalia. I have been told that Jerome is extremely fond of her; and while on his naval cruize on the American station, availed himself of every opportunity to be with her. The injunctions of his iron-hearted brother, however, could not be avoided, and Jerome was compelled either to renounce the imperial connexion, or wed the Princess of Wirtemberg.

The unsuccessful attempt of Madame Buonaparte to land in France; her hospitable reception in England, and subsequent return to the United States, after the birth of her son, must be fresh in the recollection of those whose minds are alive to the strange events of this extraordinary age. Her affection for her husband, it is said, is not abated, and that she even comforts herself with the hope of one day becoming his *Royal Consort*. It is even hinted that some titles are to be conferred upon her and her son. She at

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present resides with her father, a very respectable merchant at Baltimore, who, I understand, was very much averse to the marriage. His daughter, however, conducts herself with the utmost propriety in her present unfortunate state, and if she cannot fulfil the duties of a good wife, she fulfils those of a tender mother, by devoting her time to the instruction and improvement of the young Jerome.

GENERAL TURREAU.

WHETHER this intriguing and insolent ambassador is the man who was guilty of the most horrid excesses against the royalists of La Vendee, I have not been able to ascertain positively ; but, as we know that Napoleon is not very choise in the ambassadors whom he sends to his good friends and allies, as we have witnessed in Caulincourt's mission to Russia, &c. there is every reason to believe that General Turreau, the French minister in the United States, is the identical sans-culotte general of La Vendee. This man served originally in the ranks, and passed through almost every gradation, from that of a private soldier to that of commander-in-chief. Turreau was selected by Robespierre and the jacobin committees,

as the officer most likely to put an end to the Vendean war, by carrying fire, havoc, and devastation in every part of the country.

Notwithstanding his ravages in La Vendee, he gained only partial successes. The flames of insurrection were not to be subdued by violence ; they were afterwards quenched only by the politic conduct of Buonaparte, when he became First Consul. To be unsuccessful, was to be guilty, in the opinion of the jacobin committees, and Turreau was put under an arrest, and sent to a prison in Paris. He was afterwards set at liberty, as it was found that he had not failed from want of zeal or courage ; but from pursuing the violent measures recommended by the committees.

From that period until he was dignified with the mission to America, very little is known of him, except that he fought under the victorious banners of his Corsican master, and became one of his favoured generals. He is now fighting the Emperor's political battles in the United States, and as far as intrigue and insolence can be of service to his master's views, he certainly is a very able negotiator, and has stood his ground in a manner that has surprized the democrats and mortified the federalists.

If Washington had been the president, Turreau would have had but a short diplomatic career in the United States. He would not have been per-

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mitted to bully and bluster, and beard the president to his face : his functions would, ere this, have been suspended, and his recal demanded from his imperial master.

COLONEL AMELOT DE LA CROIX.

THAT Buonaparte, like his predecessors Robespierre, and the Directory, has an eye to the conquest or subjugation, of the United States to his will, is evident, as well from the variety of intrigues that have been carried on, as from the secret and open designs of his agents in that country. Among the mass of evidence that might be collected to support this assertion, nothing proves more clearly his designs, than some hints that have been recently promulgated in a pamphlet published at Boston in 1808, by Colonel Amelot De La Croix.

This Frenchman has resided two years in the States. He is an engineer, and formerly served *against* the royalists in La Vendee. It does not appear for what reason he has visited the States, though there cannot be a doubt but that he is in the pay of Buonaparte, and that, like Talleyrand and others, he is making his observations for the benefit of his master.

His book is addressed to the members of Congress, and professes to give them a few *friendly* hints respecting the views of Buonaparte, and upon the necessity of putting the sea-port towns in a state of effectual defence.!

“Should the United States (says Mons. De La Croix) have differences with France; should Napoleon tell you, ‘for sixteen years you enjoyed the trade of my colonies; France favoured you; and in return for her good offices, as a proof of that gratitude to which she is entitled for aiding you in securing your independence, *you* have fomented the revolt of the blacks in St. Domingo; *you* were the indirect means of the massacre of her West India planters; there can exist no doubt that your *avaricious* merchants have at noon-day loaded vessels with arms and implements of war, and that your custom-houses sanctioned the foul deed. The loss which the empire and its unfortunate subjects have sustained amounts to 500,000,000 of livres. I claim this sum’ Would not these things furnish a *pretence* for differences of the most *serious* nature! Be assured, a *want of compliance* would be followed by the most active measures. His Majesty would not waste time in useless arguments, nor an unfruitful naval warfare. The land is *his clement*; and this *hint* ought to make you pause!”


Notwithstanding M. De La Croix’s friendly

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professions to the Americans, I rather suspect that he has been sent amongst them, for the purpose of breaking the ice, respecting the claims which the crafty Corsican intends to bring forward. The seventeen millions of dollars for Louisiana and the Floridas, are all gone ; and 500 millions of livres, or about 20 millions sterling are but a *trifle* for the American government, rolling in riches, to pay for the benefits which it has derived from assisting the rebellious negroes of St. Domingo. Buonaparte well knows that he cannot obtain a shilling from the Americans without some plausible pretext. He has no more *land* to sell, or at least none that the Americans will buy. He therefore instructs his agents to sound the disposition of the *people*, by promulgating the losses which he has sustained from their conduct at St. Domingo. The very words, which he perhaps ere long intends to make use of in an official form, are communicated through the medium of a pamphlet, written by his agent, and accompanied by the threats and menaces, which will no doubt be used on that occasion.

The Colonel *significantly* enough observes, that "a want of compliance will be followed by the *most active measures*. His Majesty will not waste time in useless arguments, nor an unfruitful naval warfare. The land is his element, and this hint ought to make you pause !" What man in his senses, after reading this, can for a moment doubt

that Napoleon expects the Americans to pay him 20 millions pounds sterling. I should not be surprised if it has already formed a part of the negotiations between the two governments. But if the Americans require a *stronger hint* than that which M. De La Croix has so generously proffered them, it will be given them *at the point of the bayonet !*



GENERAL KEY.

ANOTHER of the *worthy* agents of a *worthy* master, was General Key, the *ci-devant* French consul at New York. This *gentleman* having engaged in mercantile transactions, got in debt to the amount of several thousand dollars. Finding, from *some cause or other* best known to himself, that he was in embarrassed circumstances, and likely to see the inside of a prison, he gave out that his lady, madame Key, intended to return to France with her family.

Accordingly, as much property was disposed of, or put on board, as could be done without creating suspicion; and the general was, of course, to remain behind in his official capacity. This was the more plausible, because no other consul had arrived to supersede him, and few

were inclined to suspect that an officer of his rank, and a *Frenchman* too, would be guilty of any dishonourable action. The general, however, proved that he was an old soldier, and that he could *retreat* in as masterly a manner as he could *advance*.

Upon the day that his lady and family embarked for France, his *tenderness* prompted him, as the good easy folk in the city believed, to see his dear wife and little ones beyond the Narrows, where he meant to take his leave of them, and return in the pilot-boat to town. Unfortunately, however, (at least for his creditors) the general was either so enraptured with his *petite excursion* on the water, or so absorbed with *grief* at the idea of parting with his family, that he *forgot* to return back in the pilot-boat, and was actually carried to France, much to the chagrin and disappointment of his *worthy friends* at New York.

This *masterly retreat* took place in April, 1803, and was first considered only as a *mercantile speculation*, until there was good reason to suspect that the general was the bearer of some *confidential* dispatches of a political nature. Whatever opinion the general's creditors may entertain respecting his *honor*, they surely cannot accuse him either of departing abruptly, or of a want of politeness, seeing, that he very handsomely took leave of them in the *French style*.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

AMONG those who have exerted themselves to promote the cultivation of the arts, in the infant republic of America, is Mr. Livingston, the late ambassador from America to the court of Napoleon. This gentleman, who is also conspicuous as an eminent political character, was born in New York in 1745, and after being bred to the law, was sent by that state to a meeting of the delegates in 1776. He was afterwards created by the Congress minister for foreign affairs, the duties of which situation he continued to fulfil till some time after the conclusion of the war, when the government of New York, named him as chancellor of that state.

In 1794, when the Americans had adopted a neutral position, in respect to the war in Europe, and complained, (as they do at this moment,) of both French and English depredations on their commerce, General Washington thought it necessary for the preservation of peace, to send a solemn and special legation to each of those powers. Mr. Jay was named for the mission to the court of London, and Mr. Livingston to that at Paris. The latter gentleman, however, informed the president, that he should decline the

nomination ; in consequence of which, Mr. Munro of Virginia was appointed in his room.

Chancellor Livingston continued in his office till the year 1801, when a new vacancy happening in the embassy to France, and Mr. Jefferson being president, (in whose principles and sentiments he coincided), he was nominated to that mission, and immediately repaired to Paris. There he was joined in the course of the next year by Mr. Munro, for the purpose of negotiating with the French and Spanish ministers for the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas. As both these gentlemen acted agreeable to instructions from their government, they are in some measure exculpated from the ignominy which appears to be attached to that transaction ; at the same time, if any thing really has been done, which involves the reputation of their government, they would have acted with more virtue and integrity, if they had thrown up their commissions. It however appears that Mr. Livingston soon after became either disgusted with his *mysterious* functions, or unable to carry his points at the court of St. St. Cloud ; for in 1804 he returned to America, and was succeeded by General Armstrong, who still resides in France as ambassador from the United States.

During Mr. Livingston's stay at Paris, he conceived the design of establishing an academy of fine arts in New York. In consequence,

therefore, of his suggestions, a subscription was opened for raising a sum of money to obtain statues and paintings for the instruction of artists. Copies in plaister were procured, of some of the finest pieces of ancient sculpture, among which, were the fighting gladiator, the Roman Senator, the reclining Hermaphrodite, the Laocoon group, the Jupiter Tonans, Niobe, Socrates, and a number of others. These were collected together at Paris, and forwarded to New York. Buonaparte afterwards made this infant academy a present of twenty-four large volumes of Italian prints, and several port-folios of drawings. These works of taste and genius are kept in a large room over the collector's office in the custom-house, until a proper building is erected for their reception.

Mr. Livingston enjoys an ample patrimonial estate called the upper manor; there being two manors of the name of Livingston, situated on the river Hudson, in the State of New York. On this, was an old mansion, which he has rebuilt, and in which he usually resides in summer, living in that easy style of hospitality, so much the characteristic of country gentlemen in England. He has devoted his principal attention to agricultural and rural pursuits, and has made several very useful experiments and improvements in farming. He is also President of the Agricultural Society at New York, which was

formed entirely by his exertions. The society publishes its transactions annually, and the chief communications are made by Mr. Livingston.

JOEL BARLOW.

THE British Journalists (says the American writers) are apt to select unfavourable specimens of American literature, and then infer that the standard of intellect is low. They also sneer at, and represent the literature of the United States as coarse and superficial. The very condition of society in that country forbids its people to possess as yet any very exalted literary character. A comparatively thin population spread over an immense surface of the earth, opposes many great and serious obstacles to the production, and to the circulation of literary effusions.

The infancy of its national independence, and the peculiar circumstances of its condition do not yet allow a sufficient quantity of wealth, individual and general, to be diffused through the country, to create an effectual demand for books. The means of subsistence are so easy, and the sources of personal revenue are so abundant, that almost all the talent in the country is actively employed in prosecuting some commercial

or agricultural pursuit, instead of being devoted to the calmer and less lucrative labours of literature. The scarcity of public libraries renders any great attainment in science and erudition very difficult. The want of literary competition, rewards and honours, together with the general defective means of liberal education, also conspire to deter men from dedicating themselves solely to letters.

Authorship not being a distinct or separate calling in America, as it is in England, any great excellence in writing cannot be expected: yet there is more in America than appears to the public eye, as some of the best scholars in that country, follow other pursuits. From the small demand for literary productions, the ablest and best informed Americans, seldom or never appear as writers; and the field is therefore almost entirely left clear for inferior abilities. The continual influx of British publications also tend to keep down the literary spirit of the country.

The facility of trade in America is a great check to literature; for wherever that spirit is prevalent it pervades all callings. The lawyer becomes a pettifogger, hunting after suits, and fleecing his clients; and the physician is a mere compounder of drugs and extortioner of fees. The path which is easiest to wealth will always be followed, and as literature has not the ad-

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vantages that commerce has in that respect, it will for some time be neglected.

A considerable change has, however, within these few years taken place for the better. Philadelphia, Cambridge in Massachusetts, New York, Charleston, and other cities in the union have laid the foundation, and are rapidly raising the superstructure of large and valuable public libraries. Private individuals also, and professional men are gathering together extensive collections of books. The seminaries of elementary education are in a progressive state of amendment; the colleges must necessarily follow their example speedily, or they will be deserted. The literary market is daily increasing in its demand for the supply of useful and elegant publications, both native and foreign; and the continual influx of wealth from all corners of the earth, (for the embargo is considered only as a temporary measure) will contribute greatly to the improvement of the arts, sciences, and literature, by creating a desire for those refinements which follow in the train of opulence.

One of the best and most successful recent productions in prose is, the little work, entitled *Salmagundi*, of which I have already given some extracts. Its authors are three respectable young men at New York, who follow either mercantile pursuits, or the profession of the law. The spirit with which it has been conducted, and the suc-

cess which it has met with in every part of the union, are proofs of its merit, and afford grounds to believe, that the literary spirit of America is rising fast into repute.

The most successful poetical production of which America can boast, is the Columbiad of Mr. Joel Barlow, which has recently made its appearance in the United States in a very splendid form. The author is a native of Connecticut, one of the New England states, and descended from a respectable English family, who were among the first settlers of Fairfield in that state. He is the youngest of ten children, and was a boy at school, when his father died. The patrimonial estate was not very considerable; and being divided equally among the offspring, according to the custom of that country, the portion to each was but small. Young Barlow, therefore, as he grew up, found his inheritance little more than sufficient to finish his education.

In 1774 he removed from Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, to that of New Haven in Connecticut, where in 1778 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Mr. Barlow in his early years had repeatedly evinced a considerable taste for poetry; and some of his juvenile pieces produced as college exercises, were published, and gained him much applause. During this gentleman's residence at college, the revolutionary war broke out, and such was the enthusiasm of

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the moment, that men of opulence enrolled themselves in the ranks, and boys deserted their schools in order to become soldiers.

Mr. Barlow on that memorable occasion was accustomed, during his vacations, to seize his musket and fly to the camp, where four of his brothers were already in arms. He was present as a volunteer in several skirmishes, and actually assisted at one of the severest conflicts that happened during the war. His love of letters, however, rather than any abatement of military ardour induced young Barlow to return from each of those excursions to his studies at New Haven.

About a twelvemonth after he obtained his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he procured the chaplaincy of a brigade in the Massachusetts line of the army. Mr. Barlow was very glad to obtain this appointment, as while it afforded him an honourable maintenance, it gave him leisure to prepare himself, by study, for any other pursuit to which his fancy might lead him. He continued in his clerical capacity till the conclusion of the war in 1783; during which time he formed an extensive acquaintance among the chiefs of his nation, both civil and military; at the same time he planned and nearly accomplished his poem of the Vision of Columbus.

When peace once more visited the country, and the clangor of arms was exchanged for the gentle

murmurs of the loom, the spinning-wheel, and the plough, Mr. Barlow removed to Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, and commenced his preparations for the profession of the law. As some temporary aid, however, was still necessary for subsistence, until the fees of an untried profession should begin to flow in, he purchased half the stock in trade of a printer and bookseller, with whom he entered into partnership, and aided in carrying on that complicated business, one part of which consisted in editing a newspaper. This connexion continued only two years; and in 1785 Mr. Barlow was called to the bar.

The profession of a lawyer in America, unites the duties both of advocate and solicitor, and the subject of this memoir now made a rapid progress towards fortune, having the double advantage of an extensive acquaintance with some of the first characters in the country, and a considerable stock of general science and literature.

In 1787 he published his "Vision of Columbus," a poem in nine books. This work added much to his reputation in America, and rendered him somewhat known in Europe. It was reprinted and published a few months afterwards in London, by Dilly and Stockdale. But the following year opened a new scene for Mr. Barlow, which induced him to suspend the practice of the law, which he has never since re-

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sumed. The Ohio Company, composed of a number of respectable men, many of whom Mr. Barlow had intimately known while in the army, purchased from the Congress a large tract of country, lying on the border of the river of that name, consisting of between three and four millions of acres. Their project was to sell part of these lands to foreigners, and to settle, themselves, on the remainder.

This company appointed Mr. Barlow, their agent, to transact their business in Europe; in consequence of which he repaired to England in 1788, and soon afterwards crossed over to France. He was able to dispose only of a few lots of that fertile territory, notwithstanding every allurements was held out to the purchasers. Had the settlement of the Ohio territory depended solely upon emigrants from Europe, it would, instead of being one of the most flourishing states of the Union; have remained an uncultivated wilderness. Fortunately for the company, adventurers from the most populous of the New England States, were attracted by their liberal offers, and as they better understood the nature of clearing and settling of new land than Europeans, they, in a short time, rendered it a flourishing country.

European settlers in America labour under numerous disadvantages; they are ignorant of the quickest mode of clearing land, and turn-

ing it to advantage ; they cannot submit to the hard labour and privations which the natives do ; they neither like to dwell in a log-hut that is ready to tumble about their ears, and admits the wind, the rain or snow in at every crevice ; nor can they live for a twelvemonth together upon salt provisions. They are not happy unless they have their European comforts about them ; they consider themselves as strangers in a foreign land ; shut up in a gloomy wilderness, among the beasts of the forest, and separated, as it were, from all human society. Hence they either fall a prey to melancholy and dejection, or to the numerous diseases which strangers are liable to in a newly settled country, occasioned, for the most part, by the mephitic vapours of the woods and marshes. The Americans, on the contrary, consider the forests as their natural habitations ; they were born in them ; and like the wandering Indians, they emigrate from state to state, from one spot of land to another, increasing their property, and improving the country. They submit to all the hardships of such a life with cheerfulness ; and though, like Europeans, they are sometimes subject to the diseases of those new countries, yet they do not so often become the victims of them. They are also well acquainted with the quality and localities of a lot of land, before they purchase it ; the want of which knowledge has often ruined an European adventurer. Every

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thing with them is turned to some advantage or other; and instead of wasting their time in grubbing up the roots of trees to give their plantation a handsome appearance, they leave the stumps in the ground, and sow their corn between them. They live upon the coarsest and most sparing diet, and dwell in the most miserable huts for the first year or two, till they have paid their expenses and are something in pocket; which they contrive to accomplish by the sale or barter of their crops of corn, their wood ashes, their shingles, their timber, and cattle. These are disposed of, as the local situation of the farm enables them, and as occasion requires, to some great proprietor, or merchant in the township, without whom, or some other opening for the sale of their produce, the clearing of land is but a barren speculation. An European, therefore, who wishes to embark in the clearing of lands in America, should consider well of all the inconveniences, privations, and obstacles which he must encounter, and the measures which he must adopt in the prosecution of such an undertaking, before he quits his own country. He must also make up his mind to be a loser in the outset of the thing, and to expend three or four hundred pounds, even on the most moderate computation, before he can expect to establish himself permanently. Many Europeans have spent thousands in such speculations in America, and have after-

wards returned home beggars. People now begin to have their eyes opened rather more than formerly to the illusive offers of land owners, even in Canada, as well as the United States, whose interest it is to have their property cultivated and improved. To those who have any inclination to settle in North America, and are unacquainted with the necessary steps that are to be taken under such circumstances, the hints which I have offered, may perhaps be of considerable importance to them, and prevent their embarking in a hazardous speculation without the necessary precautions.

To return to the subject of this memoir, we find him, in 1791-2, taking an active part in forwarding the principles of the French revolution, as a member of the constitutional society of London. In that capacity he was nominated by the society, to go over to France, in company with another member, and present an address from the society to the national convention of France. "As the relations of peace," says Mr. Barlow's biographer, "which still existed and were kept up between the two countries, had not then been disturbed, these two gentlemen undertook the task, doubtless, without foreseeing the consequences that resulted from that measure. It soon after became the subject of legal inquiry, and is said to have given birth to the state trials, which took place in the year 1794."

The result of this rash step was, that Mr. Barlow could not return to England, though he had departed with the intention of being absent only two or three weeks, and had left his wife in London, and his private concerns unsettled. He therefore sent for Mrs. Barlow, and soon after accompanied some of the deputies who were sent from the convention on a mission to Savoy, in order to forward the views of the inhabitants, who appeared eager to throw off the yoke of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia.

In this mission Mr. Barlow was actively engaged, and wrote several inspiring addresses to the people, for which services the convention decreed him the title of a French citizen. About this period, the French intrigues in America began to alarm the government; and General Washington, whose only wish was to remain at peace with all the world, no doubt saw, with secret displeasure, the activity of his countrymen in propagating the dangerous tenets of the French government, both in Europe and America. It is most likely, therefore, that the order which Mr. Barlow received in 1795, from President Washington, to repair to the States of Barbary for the purpose of forming treaties with those powers, and redeeming the captive Americans from slavery, was chiefly to divert that gentleman from his revolutionary practices, and check the

spirit of Jacobinism among Americans abroad as well as at home.

Mr. Barlow immediately obeyed the president's commands, and to his honour performed the objects of his mission in the most satisfactory manner. He negotiated treaties of peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and redeemed the American prisoners from captivity. In 1797, he returned to Paris; but as all the objects of the revolution which a friend to humanity could desire to have seen established, were overthrown and buried beneath tyranny and oppression, Mr. Barlow remained an unconcerned spectator in that country, till he returned to America in 1805.

It was during this period of inactivity in political affairs, that he had leisure to lay the foundation of the poem, called "The Columbiad," which he has since completed and published, in a very splendid manner. This poem is an enlargement of his vision of Columbus, and is comprised in ten books. Columbus is the hero of the poem, and Hesper who is represented as the guardian genius of the western continent, appears to him in prison; into which he had been thrown after being recalled from his government in the new world. The Genius endeavours to soothe and elevate his desponding spirit, by anticipating the great events that were to flow from his illustrious deeds. Leaving the prison together,

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they ascend to the summit of a high mountain, from whence the immense Continent of America is laid open to the view of the hero.

From this elevated spot, Hesper describes to Columbus the geographical position, or prominent parts of the New World; the state of the natives; and foretells the cruelties and devastations which are to ensue in the Spanish possessions of Mexico and Peru. He then proceeds to the settlement of the English colonists in America, and describes, in glowing colours, the revolutionary conflict in which they ultimately obtain their independence. Such are the main points of the poem; the subordinate parts are diversified with episodes and fanciful images, which tend to illustrate the subject and embellish the poem.

The greatest disadvantage which this poem lies under is, the necessity of having its events foretold in a vision. Hence we are but little interested with the hero, who ought to be the life and soul of the poem. In the *Iliad*, we have Achilles or Hector to charm us; In the *Odyssey*, we have Ulysses; In the *Æneid*, Æneas: all of whom are ever present to our imagination, and concerned in the events before us: but Columbus is a mere inanimate personage who hears all, and does nothing. Mr. Barlow has, however, had a very difficult task to perform. Modern history is not at all adapted for such poems; the events

ought to be mellowed by time ; and if somewhat involved in obscurity, the author can better employ his fictitious agents in the business of the scene. His "*River gods*," and "*Gods of Frost*," can then take an active part with much more propriety ; nay, their very existence, perhaps, may not then be questioned ; but when we see a modern general struggling with one of these imaginary foes, and recent facts blended with fictitious events, our reason, in spite of every poetical license in their favour, will revolt at such incongruities.

These disadvantages do not, however, affect the merits of the poem in other respects. Mr. Barlow has displayed considerable taste and talents in the management of the subject, and has given the transactions of so long a period with much spirit and elegance. If he had said less upon some unpleasant events of the revolutionary war, it would have displayed more impartiality, and rendered the work less objectionable ; but to dwell upon the subject of the "*prison-ships*," and display their horrors in an *engraving*, is not at all calculated to promote that "*harmony and felicity between nations*," which he makes Hesper predict to Columbus, in the two last books of his poem.

Mr. Barlow has also suffered his better judgment to be influenced by a desire which has often prevailed itself in many of his countrymen, of esta-

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blishing what they denominate an "*American language*," but which, in fact, is nothing more than pedantic and distorted English. - Many of these *American* expressions have crept into the *Columbiad*, to the utter disfiguration of several otherwise beautiful passages; and that which ought to have been elegant and sublime, is nothing but mere fastian and bombast.

Yet, upon the whole, the *Columbiad* is entitled to a considerable share of applause; it evinces in the author abilities of no mean stamp, and possesses merits which are not to be found but in works of a superior cast. It is also the production of an "infant country," and on that account should be viewed in a more favorable light than if it had emanated from the birth-place of a Homer, a Virgil, or a Milton. Every spark of genius that is emitted from the Western Continent should be hailed with satisfaction; and, instead of being extinguished by the pestilential breath of partial castigators, which, like the parching blast of the Arabian Simoom, destroys every thing within its reach, it should be fanned into a flame by the mild and gentle treatment of judicious critics. We might then hope to see the genius of the ancient world engrafted upon the new hemisphere; and if ever the day should come, that the modern powerful nations of Europe, are compelled to transfer their sceptres, like those of Greece and Rome, to a more western rival, it would be some

satisfaction to Englishmen, to know that that rival was descended from the ancient stock of their own nation, and had preserved the language, manners, genius, and laws of their ancestors.

I shall conclude this sketch of Mr. Barlow and his poem, with a few extracts from the *Columbiad*; they will serve to display the genius and talents of the author, and will, I hope, (as I observed upon the extracts from *Salmagundi*,) shield me from the charge of "*selecting unfavourable specimens of American literature.*"

The following extract is from the 6th book, and contains that well-known pathetic fact of the murder of an American young lady, by the Indians belonging to General Burgoyne's army. She was betrothed to a British officer, and had left her father's house to visit him in the camp, when she was met by a party of Indians, who in quarrelling about conducting her, terminated the dispute by a blow of the tomahawk. This passage will also enable the reader to judge of the poet's style in describing a modern battle.

" Brave Heartley strode in youth's o'erweening pride;
Housed in the camp he left his blooming bride,
The sweet Lucinda; whom her sire from far,
On steeds high bounding o'er the waste of war,
Had guided thro' the lines, and hither led,
That fatal morn, the plighted chief to wed.
He deem'd, deluded sire! the contest o'er,
That routed rebels dared the fight no more:

And came to mingle, as the tumult ceased,
 The victor's triumph with the nuptial feast.
 They reached his tent; when now with loud alarms
 The morn burst forth, and roused the camp to arms;
 Conflicting passions seized the lover's breast,
 Bright honor call'd, and bright Lucinda prest :—
 And wilt thou leave me for that clangorous call ?
 Traced I these deserts but to see thee fall ?
 I know thy valorous heart, thy zeal that speeds
 Where dangers press, and boldest battle bleeds.
 My father said, blest Hymen here should join
 With sacred Love to make Lucinda thine;
 But other union these dire drums foredoom,
 The dark dead union of th' eternal tomb.
 On yonder plain, 'soon sheeted o'er with blood,
 Our nuptial couch shall prove a crimson clod;
 For there this night thy livid corse must lie,
 I'll seek it there, and on that bosom die.
 Yet go; 'tis duty calls; but o'er thy head
 Let this white plume its floating foliage spread;
 That from the rampart, thro' the troubled air,
 These eyes may trace thee toiling in the war.
 She fixt the feather on his crest above,
 Bound with the mystic knot, the knot of love;
 He parted silent, but in silent prayer
 Bade Love and Hymen guard the tim'rous fair.

"Where Saratoga shew'd her champaign side,
 That Hudson bathed with still untainted tide,
 Th' opposing pickets push'd their scouting files,
 Wheel'd, skirmisht, halted, practised all their wiles;
 Each to mislead, insnare, exhaust their foes,
 And court their conquest ere the armies close.

"Now roll, like winged storms, the solid lines,
 The clarion thunders, and the battle joins;

Thick flames in vollied flashes load the air,
 And echoing mountains give the noise of war ;
 Sulphureous clouds rise reddening round the height,
 And veil the skies, and wrap the sounding fight.
 Soon from the skirts of smoke, where thousands toil,
 Ranks roll away and into light recoil ;
 Starke pours upon them in a storm of lead ;
 His hosted swains bestrew the field with dead,
 Pierce with strong bayonets the German reins,
 Whelm two battalions in their captive chains,
 Bid Baum, with wounds enfeebled, quit the field,
 And Breynan next his gushing life-blood yield.

“ This Frazer sees, and thither turns his course,
 Bears down before them with Britannia's force,
 Wheels a broad column on the victor flank,
 And springs to vengeance thro' the foremost rank.
 Lincoln, to meet the hero, sweeps the plain ;
 His ready bands the laboring Starke sustain ;
 Host matching host, the doubtful battle burns,
 And now the Britons, now their foes by turns
 Regain the ground ; till Frazer feels the force
 Of a rude grapeshot in his flouncing horse ;
 Nor knew the chief, till struggling from the fall,
 That his gored thigh had first received the ball.
 He sinks expiring on the slippery soil ;
 Shock'd at the sight, his baffled troops recoil ;
 Where Lincoln, pressing with redoubled might,
 Broke thro' their squadrons and confirm'd the flight ;
 When this brave leader met a stunning blow,
 That stopt his progress and avenged the foe.
 He left the field, but prodigal of life,
 Unwearied Francis still prolong'd the strife ;
 Till a chance carabine attain'd his head,
 And stretch'd the hero mid the vulgar dead.
 His near companions rush with ardent gait,
 Swift to revenge, but soon to share his fate ;

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Brown, Adams, Coburn, falling side by side;
Drench the chill sod with all their vital tide.

“ Firm on the west bold Herkimer sustains
The gather'd shock of all Canada's trains ;
Colonis and wildmen post their skulkers there,
Outflank his pickets and assail his rear,
Drive in his distant scouts with hideous blare,
And press, on three sides close, the hovering war.
Johnson's own shrieks commence the deafening din,
Rouze every ambush and the storm begin.
A thousand thickets, thro' each opening glen,
Pour forth their hunters to the chase of men ;
Trunks of huge trees, and rocks and ravines lend
Unnumber'd batteries and their files defend ;
They fire, they squat, they rise, advance and fly,
And yells and groans alternate rend the sky.
The well aim'd hatchet cleaves the helmless head,
Mute showers of arrows and loud storms of lead
Rain thick from hands unseen, and sudden fling
A deep confusion thro' the laboring wing.

“ But Herkimer, undaunted, quits the stand,
Breaks in loose files his disencumber'd band,
Wheels on the howling glens each light-arm'd troop;
And leads himself where Johnson tones his whoop,
Pours thro' his copse a well-directed fire ;
The semisavage sees his tribes retire,
Then follows thro' the brush in full horse speed,
And gains the hilltop where the Hurons lead ;
Here turns his courser ; when a grateful sight
Recals his stragglers, and restrains his flight.
For Herkimer no longer now sustains
The loss of blood that his faint vitals drains :
A ball had pierced him ere he changed his field ;
The slow sure death his prudence had conceal'd,

Till dark derouted foes should yield to flight,
And his firm friends could finish well the fight.

“ Lopt from his horse the hero sinks at last ;
The Hurons ken him, and with hallooing blast
Shake the vast wilderness ; the tribes around
Drink with broad ears, and swell the rending sound,
Rush back to vengeance with tempestuous might,
Sweep the long slopes from every neighboring height,
Full on their check'd pursuers ; who regain,
From all their woods, the first contested plain.
Here open fight begins ; and sure defeat
Had forc'd that column to a swift retreat,
But Arnold, toiling thro' the distant smoke,
Beheld their plight, a small detachment took,
Bore down behind them with his field-park loud,
And hail'd his grape-shot thro' the savage crowd ;
Strow'd every copse with dead, and chas'd afar
The affrighted relics from the skirts of war.

“ But on the centre swells the heaviest charge,
The squares develop and the lines enlarge.
Here Kosciusko's mantling works conceal'd
His batteries mute, but soon to scour the field ;
Morgan with all his marksmen flanks the foe,
Hull, Brooks, and Courtlandt, in the vanguard glow ;
Here gallant Dearbon leads his light-arm'd train,
Here Scammel towers, here Silly shakes the plain,

“ Gates guides the onset with his waving brand,
Assigns their task to each unfolding band,
Sustains, inspirits, prompts the warrior's rage,
Now bids the flanks, and now the front engage.
Points the stern riflers where their slugs to pour,
And tells the unmasking batteries when to roar.
For here impetuous Powell wheels and veers
His royal guards, his British grenadiers ;

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His highland broadswords cut their wasting course,
 His horse artillery whirls its furious force.
 Here Specht and Reidesel to battle bring
 Their scattering yagers from each folding wing ;
 And here, concentrated in tremendous might,
 Britain's whole park, descending to the fight,
 Roars thro' the ranks ; 'tis Phillips leads the train,
 And toils and thunders o'er the shuddering plain.

“ Burgoyne, secure of victory, from his height,
 Eyes the whole field and orders all the fight,
 Marks where his veterans plunge their fiercest fire,
 And where his foes seem halting to retire,
 Already sees the starry staff give way,
 And British ensigns gaining on the day ;
 When from the western wing, in steely glare,
 All-conquering Arnold surged the tide of war.
 Columbia kindles as her hero comes ;
 Her trump's shrill clangor and her deafening drums
 Redoubling sound the charge ; they rage, they burn.
 And hosted Europe trembles in her turn.
 So when Pelides' absence check'd her fate,
 All Ilion issued from her guardian gate ;
 Her huddling squadrons like a tempest pour'd,
 Each man a hero, and each dart a sword,
 Full on retiring Greece tumultuous fall,
 And Greece reluctant seeks her sheltering wall ;
 But Pelius' son rebounding o'er the plain,
 Troy backward starts, and seeks her towers again.

“ Arnold's dread falchion, with terrific sway,
 Rolls on the ranks and rules the doubtful day,
 Confounds with one wide sweep the astonish'd foes,
 And bids at last the scene of slaughter close.
 Pale rout begins, Britannia's broken train
 Tread back their steps and scatter from the plain,

To their strong camp precipitate retire,
And wide behind them streams the roaring fire.

" Meantime, the skirts of war as Johnson gor'd,
His kindred cannibals desert their lord ;
They scour the waste for undistinguish'd prey,
Howl thro' the night the horrors of the day,
Scalp every straggler from all parties stray'd,
Each wounded wanderer thro' the moonlight glade ;
And while the absent armies give them place,
Each camp they plunder, and each world disgrace.

" One deed shall tell what fame great Albion draws
From these auxiliars in her barb'rous cause,
Lucinda's fate ; the tale, ye nations, bear ;
Eternal ages, trace it with a tear.
Long from the rampart, thro' the imbattled field,
She spied her Heartley where his column wheel'd,
Trac'd him with steadfast eye and tortured breast,
That heaved in concert with his dancing crest ;
And oft, with head advanced and hand outspread,
Seem'd from her love to ward the flying lead ;
Till, dimm'd by distance and the gathering cloud :
At last he vanish'd in the warrior crowd.
She thought he fell ; and wild with fearless air,
She left the camp to brave the woodland war,
Made a long circuit, all her friends to shun,
And wander'd wide beneath the falling sun ;
Then veering to the field, the pickets past,
To gain the hillock where she miss'd him last.
Fond maid, he rests not there ; from finish'd fight
He sought the camp, and closed the rear of flight.

" He hurries to his tent ;—oh rage ! despair !
No glimpse, no tidings of the frantic fair ;
Save that some carmen, as acamp they drove,
Had seen her coursing for the western grove.

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Faint with fatigue, and chok'd with burning thirst,
 Forth from his friends with bounding leap he burst,
 Vaults o'er the palisade with eyes on flame,
 And fills the welkin with Lucinda's name.
 Swift thro' the wild wood paths phrenetic springs—
 Lucind ! Lucinda ! thro' the wild wood rings.
 All night he wanders ; barking wolves alone,
 And screaming night-birds answer to his moan ;
 For war had rous'd them from their savage den ;
 They scent the field, they snuff the walks of men.

“ The fair one too, of every aid forlorn,
 Had raved and wander'd, till officious morn
 Awaked the Mohawks from their short repose,
 To glean the plunder ere their comrades rose,
 Two Mohawks met the maid—historian, hold !—
 Poor Human Nature ! must thy shame be told ?
 Where then that proud pre-eminence of birth,
 Thy Moral Sense ? the brightest boast of earth.
 Had but the tiger chang'd his heart for thine,
 Could rocks their bowels with that heart combine,
 Thy tear had gusht, thy hand relieved her pain,
 And led Lucinda to her lord again.

“ She starts, with eyes upturn'd and fleeting breath,
 In their raised axes views her instant death,
 Spreads her white hands to heaven in frantic prayer,
 Then runs to grasp their knees, and crouches there.
 Her hair, half lost along the shrubs she past,
 Rolls in loose tangles round her lovely waist ;
 Her kerchief torn betrays the globes of snow
 That heave responsive to her weight of woe.
 Does all this eloquence suspend the knife ?
 Does no superior bribe contest her life ?
 There does : the scalps by British gold are paid ;
 A long-hair'd scalp adorns that heavenly head ;

And comes the sacred spoil from friend or foe,
No marks distinguish, and no man can know.

“ With calculating pause, and demon grin,
They seize her hands, and thro' her face divine
Drive the descending ax ! the shriek she sent
Attain'd her lover's ear : he thither bent
With all the speed his wearied limbs could yield,
Whirl'd his keen blade, and stretched upon the field
The yelling fiends ; who there disputing stood
Her gory scalp, their horrid prize of blood.
He sunk delirious on her lifeless clay,
And past, in starts of sense, the dreadful day.”

The following description of a modern sea-fight will afford the reader a specimen of the poet's powers, in that arduous management of the poem.

“ Far on the wild expanse, where ocean lies,
And scorns all confines but incumbent skies,
Scorns to retain the imprinted paths of men
To guide their wanderings or direct their ken ;
Where warring vagrants, raging as they go,
Ask of the stars their way to find the foe,
Columbus saw two hovering fleets advance,
And rival ensigns o'er their pinions dance,
Graves, on the north, with Albion's flag unfurl'd,
Waves proud defiance to the watery world ;
De Grasse, from southern isles, conducts his train,
And shades with Gallic sheets the moving main.

“ Now morn, unconscious of the coming fray
That soon shall storm the crystal cope of day,
Glow's o'er the heavens, and with her orient breeze
Fans her fair face and curls the summer seas.

The swelling sails, as far as eye can sweep,
Look thro' the skies and awe the shadowy deep.
Lead their long bending lines ; and, ere they close,
To count, recognize, circumvent their foes,
Each hauls his wind, the weathergage to gain
And master all the movements of the plain ;
Or bears before the breeze with loftier gait,
And, beam to beam, begins the work of fate.

“ As when the warring winds from each far pole,
Their adverse storms across the concave roll,
Thin fleecy vapors thro' the expansion run,
Veil the black vault, and tremble o'er the sun,
Till the dark folding wings together drive,
And, ridged with fire, and rock'd with thunder, strive,
So, hazing thro' the void, at first appear
White clouds of canvas floating on the air,
Then frown the broad black decks, the sails are stay'd,
The gaping port-holes cast a frightful shade,
Flames, triple tier'd, and tides of smoke, arise,
And fulminations rock the seas and skies.

“ From van to rear the roaring deluge runs,
The storm disgorging from a thousand guns,
Each like a vast volcano, spouting wide
His hissing hell-dogs o'er the shuddering tide,
Whirls high his chain-shot, cleaves the mast and strows
The shiver'd fragments on the staggering foes ;
Whose gunwale sides with iron globes are gored,
And a wild storm of splinters sweeps the board.
Husht are the winds of heaven ; no more the gale
Breaks the red rolls of smoke, nor flaps the sail ;
A dark dead calm continuous cloaks the glare,
And holds the clouds of sulphur on the war,
Convolving o'er the space that yawns and shines,
With frequent flash, between the laboring lines.

Nor sun, nor sea, nor skyborn lightning gleams,
 But flaming Phlegethon's asphaltic steams
 Streak the long gaping gulf; where varying glow
 Carbonic curls above—blue flakes of fire below.

“ Hither two hostile ships to contact run,
 Both grappling, board to board and gun to gun;
 Each thro’ the adverse ports their contents pour,
 Rake the lower decks, the interior timbers bore,
 Drive into chinks the illumined wads unseen,
 Whose flames approach th’ unguarded magazine.
 Above, with shrouds afoul and gunwales mann’d,
 Thick halberds clash; and closing, hand to hand,
 The huddling troops, infuriate from despair,
 Tug at the toils of death, and perish there;
 Grenados, carcasses their fragments spread,
 And pikes and pistols strow the decks with dead.
 Now on the Gallic board the Britons rush,
 The intrepid Gauls the rash adventurers crush;
 And now, to vengeance stung, with frantic air,
 Back on the British maindeck roll the war.
 There swells the carnage; all the tar-beat floor
 Is clogged with spatter’d brains and glu’d with gore;
 And down the ship’s black waist fresh brooks of blood
 Course o’er their clots, and tinge the sable flood.
 Till War, impatient of the lingering strife
 That tires and slackens with the waste of life,
 Opes with engulphing gape the astonished wave,
 And whelms the combat whole, in one vast grave.
 For now the imprison’d powder caught the flames,
 And into atoms whirl’d the monstrous frames
 Of both the entangled ships; the vortex wide
 Roars like an *Ætna* thro’ the belching tide,
 And blazing into heaven, and bursting high,
 Shells, carriages, and guns, obstruct the sky;
 Cords, timbers, trunks of men the welkin sweep,
 And fall on distant ships, or show’r along the deep.

"The matcht armadas still the fight maintain,
 But cautious, distant; lest the staggering main
 Drive their whole lines afoul, and one dark day
 Glut the proud ocean with too rich a prey.
 At last, where scattering fire the clouds disclose,
 Hulls heave in sight, and blood the deck o'erflows;
 Here from the field tost navies rise to view,
 Drive back to vengeance, and the roar renew,
 There shatter'd ships commence their flight afar,
 Tow'd thro' the smoke, hard struggling from the war;
 And some, half seen amid the gaping wave,
 Plunge in the whirl they make, and gorge their grave."

I shall conclude these extracts from the Columbiad, with the following passage from the eighth book. It displays the benefits which the United States derive from their constitution, and describes the progress of commerce and the arts:—

"Where southern stream thro' broad Savannas bend,
 The rice-clad vales their verdant rounds extend;
 Tobago's plant its leaf expanding yields,
 The maize luxuriant clothes a thousand fields;
 Steeds, herds, and flocks, o'er northern regions rove,
 Embrown the hill and wanton thro' the grove.
 The woodlands wide their sturdy honors bend,
 The pines, the liveoaks to the shores descend,
 There couch the keels, the crooked ribs arise,
 Hulls heave aloft and mastheads mount the skies;
 Launcht on the deep o'er every wave they fly,
 Feed tropic isles and Europe's looms supply.

"To nurse the arts and fashion freedom's lore,
 Young schools of science rise along the shore;

Great without pomp their modest walls expand,
 Harvard, and Yale, and Princeton grace the land,
 Penn's student halls his youths with gladness greet,
 On James's bank Virginian muses meet ;
 Manhattan's mart collegiate domes command,
 Bosom'd in groves, see growing Dartmouth stand ;
 Bright o'er its realm reflecting solar fires,
 On yon tall hill Rhode Island's seat aspires.

* Thousands of humbler name around them rise,
 Where homebred freemen seize the solid prize ;
 Fixt in small spheres, with safer beams to shine,
 They reach the useful and refuse the fine,
 Found, on its proper base, the social plan,
 The broad plain truths, the common sense of man,
 His obvious wants, his mutual aids discern,
 His rights familiarize, his duties learn,
 Feel moral fitness all its force dilate,
 Embrace the village and comprize the state.
 Each rustic here who turns the furrow'd soil,
 The maid, the youth that ply mechanic toil,
 In equal rights, in useful arts inured,
 Know their just claims, and see their claims secured ;
 They watch their delegates, each law revise,
 Its faults designate, and its merits prize,
 Obey, but scrutinize ; and let the test
 Of sage experience prove and fix the best.

“ Here, fir'd by virtue's animating flame,
 The preacher's task persuasive sages claim,
 To mould religion to the moral mind,
 In bands of peace to harmonize mankind,
 To life, to light, to promis'd joys above
 The soften'd soul with ardent hope to move.
 No dark intolerance binds the zealous throng,
 No arm of power attendant on their tongue ;

Vext Inquisition, with her flaming brand,
Shuns their mild march, nor dares approach the land.
Tho' different creeds their priestly robes denote,
Their orders various and their rites remote,
Yet one their voice, their labours all combin'd,
Lights of the world and friends of humankind.
So the bright galaxy o'er heaven displays
Of various stars the same unbounded blaze ;
Where great and small their mingling rays unite,
And earth and skies exchange the friendly light.

“ And lo! my son, that other sapient band,
The torch of science flaming in their hand !
Thro' nature's range their searching souls aspire,
Or wake to life the canvas and the lyre.
Fixt in sublimest thought, behold them rise
World after world unfolding to their eyes,
Lead, light, allure them thro' the total plan,
And give new guidance to the paths of man.

“ Yon meteor-mantled hill see Franklin tread,
Heaven's awful thunders rolling o'er his head ;
Convolving clouds the billowy skies deform,
And forked flames emblaze the black'ning storm.
See the descending streams around him burn,
Glance on his rod and with his finger turn ;
He bids conflicting fulminants expire
The guided blast, and holds the imprison'd fire.
No more, when doubling storms the vault o'erspread,
The livid glare shall strike thy race with dread,
Nor towers nor temples, shuddering with the sound,
Sink in the flames and shake the sheeted ground.
His well-tried wires that every tempest wait,
Shall teach mankind to ward the bolts of fate,
With pointed steel o'ertop the trembling spire,
And lead, from untouch'd walls, the harmless fire ;

Fill'd with his fame while distant climes rejoice,
Wherever lightning shines or thunder rear its voice.

“ And see sage Rittenhouse; with ardent eye,
Lift the long tube and pierce the starry sky ;
Clear in his view the circling planets roll,
And suns and satellites their course control.
He marks what laws the widest wanderers bind,
Copies Creation in his forming mind,
Sees in his hall the total semblance rise,
And mimics there the labors of the skies.
There student youths without their tubes behold
The spangled heavens their mystic maze unfold,
And crowded schools their cheerful chambers grace
With all the spheres that cleave the vast of space.

“ To guide the sailor in his wandering way,
See Godfrey's glass reverse the beams of day.
His lifted quadrant to the eye displays
From adverse skies the counteracting rays ;
And marks, as devious sails bewilder'd roll,
Each nice gradation from the stedfast pole.

“ West, with his own great soul the canvas warms,
Creates, inspires, impassions human forms,
Spurns critic rules, and seizing safe the heart,
Breaks down the former frightful bounds of Art ;
Where ancient manners, with exclusive reign,
From half mankind withheld her fair domain.
He calls to life each patriot, chief, or sage,
Garb'd in the dress and drapery of his age.
Again bold Regulus to death returns,
Again her falling Wolfe Britannia mourns ;
Lahogue, Boyne, Cressy, Nevilcross demand
And gain fresh lustre from his copious hand ;
His Lear stalks wild with woes, the gods defies,
Insults the tempest and outstorms the skies ;

Edward, in arms, to frowning combat moves,
Or, won to pity by the queen he loves,
Spare the devoted *Six*, whose deathless deed
Preserves the town his vengeance doom'd to bleed.

“ With rival force, see Copley's pencil trace
The air of action and the charms of face.
Fair in his tints unfold the scenes of state,
The senate listens and the peers debate ;
Pale consternation every heart appals,
In act to speak, when death-struck Chatham falls.
He bids dread Calpe cease to shake the waves,
While Elliott's arm the host of Bourbon saves ;
O'er sail-wing'd batteries, sinking in the flood,
'Mid flames and darkness, drench'd in hostile blood,
Britannia's sons extend their generous hand
To rescue foes from death, and bear them to the land

“ Fired with the martial deeds that bath'd in gore
His brave companions on his native shore,
Trumbull with daring hand their fame recalls ;
He shades with night Quebec's beleagured walls,
Thro' flashing flames, that midnight war supplies,
The assailants yield, their great Montgomery dies.
On Bunker height, thro' floods of hostile fire,
His Putnam toils till all the troops retire,
His Warren, pierced with balls, at last lies low,
And leaves a victory to the wasted foe ;
Britannia, too, his glowing tint shall claim,
To pour new splendour on her Calpean fame ;
He leads her bold sortie, and from their towers
O'erturns the Gallic and Iberian powers.

“ See, rural seats of innocence and ease,
High tufted towers and walks of waving trees,

The white waves dashing on the craggy shores,
 Meandering streams and meads of mingled flowers,
 Where nature's sons their wild excursions tread,
 In just design from Taylor's pencil spread.

"Stuart and Brown the moving portrait raise,
 Each rival stroke the force of life conveys;
 Heroes and beauties round their tablets stand,
 And rise unfading from their plastic hand;
 Each breathing form preserves its wonted grace,
 And all the soul stands speaking in the face.

"Two kindred arts the swelling statue heave;
 Wake the dead wax, and teach the stone to live.
 While the bold chissel claims the rugged strife,
 To rouse the sceptre'd marble into life,
 See Wright's fair hands the livelier fire controul;
 In waxen forms she breathes impassion'd soul;
 The pencil'd tint o'er moulded substance glows,
 And different powers the peerless art compose.
 Grief, rage and fear beneath her fingers start,
 Roll the wild eye, and pour the bursting heart;
 The world's dead fathers wait her wakening call,
 And distant ages fill the storied hall.

"To equal fame ascends thy tuneful throng;
 The boast of genius and the pride of song;
 Caught from the cast of every age and clime,
 Their lays shall triumph o'er the lapse of time.

"With lynx-ey'd glance thro' nature far to pierce,
 With all the powers and every charm of verse,
 Each science opening in his ample mind,
 His fancy glowing and his taste refined,
 See Trunbull lead the train. His skilful hand
 Hurls the keen darts of satire round the land.

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Pride, knavery, dullness, feel his mortal stings,
And listening virtue triumphs while he sings ;
Britain's foil'd sons, victorious now no more,
In guilt retiring from the wasted shore,
Strive their curst cruelties to hide in vain ;
The world resounds them in his deathless strain.

“ On wings of faith to elevate the soul
Beyond the bourn of earth's benighted pole,
For Dwight's high harp the epic Muse sublime
Hails her new empire in the western clime.
Tun'd from the tones by seers seraphic sung,
Heav'n in his eye, and rapture on his tongue,
His voice revives old Canaan's promised land,
The long-fought fields of Jacob's chosen band.
In Hanniel's fate, proud faction finds its doom,
All's midnight flames light nations to their tomb,
In visions bright supernal joys are given,
And all the dark futurities of heaven.

“ While freedom's cause his patriot bosom warms,
In counsel sage, nor inexpert in arms,
See Humphreys glorious from the field retire,
Sheathe the glad sword, and string the soothing lyre,
That lyre which erst, in hours of dark despair,
Reuzed the sad realms to finish well the war,
O'er fallen friends, with all the strength of woe,
Fraternal sighs in his strong numbers flow ;
His country's wrongs, her duties, dangers, praise,
Fire his full soul and animate his lays :
Wisdom and War with equal joy shall own
So fond a votary and so brave a son.”

CHIEF JUSTICE JAY.

THIS Gentleman, who is better known in England from the treaty which he negotiated on the part of his country, than by any very prominent acts during the revolutionary war, is descended from a French family, who emigrated to America during the persecutions of the Hugonots, in the reign of Louis the XIVth. His ancestor, with a number of other refugees, landed at New York about the time that colony was ceded to Great Britain by the Dutch. These persons purchased a tract of land within twenty miles of the city, on which they settled, and called the place New Rochelle, in remembrance of the sea-port of that name, from which they had sailed. They retained their language and customs for a considerable time; but their religion and politics, being the same as those of their English neighbours, they approximated by degrees, and like their brethren, who settled in England, they have, for the last two generations, become one and the same people: their French origin being discernable only by their names.

Mr. Jay was born at New Rochelle in 1734, and received his education at New York. He afterwards took up the profession of the law, and was in considerable practice when the revo-

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lutionary war broke out. This event called him, as it did many others, from private into public life; he being deputed as a member to the first Congress, the duties of which station he continued to perform until he was chosen president in 1777. He was afterwards sent as minister plenipotentiary to Spain, when that country had determined to join France in the war. In this situation he continued till he was nominated joint commissioner with Franklin and Adams, who were then at the courts of France and Holland, to treat with Great Britain for peace whenever an opening presented itself. This did accordingly take place in 1783, and Mr. Jay assisted in the treaty, which gave to his country liberty, and independence.

Mr. Jay, on his return to America, was appointed to the office of minister for foreign affairs, until the formation of the new constitution in 1789. On that memorable occasion, he was honoured by President Washington, in concurrence with the voice of the senate, with the appointment of chief justice of the United States, an office of great power and responsibility. In 1794, he was sent as envoy extraordinary to England, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of commerce, and to settle the differences and disputes which had arisen between the two countries. This desirable object Mr. Jay accomplished; and happily prevented, at that

revolutionary period, a destructive war between England and the United States.

So unpopular, however, was both the treaty and its negociator, that Mr. Jay on his return to America, found it necessary to resign his official situation as chief justice. He was soon after elected governor of New York, which place he continued to hold for several years, until he declined any further election, and retired to his estate, where he enjoys the consolation of having served his country faithfully in its most trying moments, and of never having soiled his fair fame by one single act of vice or weakness.

COMMODORE BARRON.

It is certainly not the interest of such a country as the United States, to keep up a large and expensive naval establishment, otherwise we might be surprized that her marine force is at present on such a despicable footing. It consists of only ten frigates, from twenty-four to forty-four guns each, most of which are unserviceable; twelve sloops from seven to sixteen guns each; and sixty-nine gun-boats of one gun each. This latter species of force is said to be the favourite hobby of Mr. Jefferson, who conceives that it is quite sufficient for defensive purposes. The gun-

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boats are certainly very well adapted for action in shallow waters, but unfortunately for the United States, most of their principal sea-port towns lie open to the attack of line-of-battle ships, against which it would be impossible for gun-boats to be of any service. They therefore can be useful only in aiding the municipal regulations of the States; this they have sufficiently evinced since the embargo; for without them the spirit of mercantile adventure would have rendered the law nugatory.

There are not above three or four frigates in commission, and perhaps only two that are prepared for immediate service. The expense of the naval establishment is about 300,000*l.* sterling per annum, and nearly one half of that sum is expended in repairs. Notwithstanding this imbecile state of the American navy, it can boast of many brave and excellent officers, some of whom have, at different periods, distinguished themselves against the French and the Tripolitans in several severe engagements. Among them, the names of Truxton, Rodgers, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Campbell, are the most conspicuous; nor must we omit that of Barron, who, though placed in a most unfortunate dilemma by the obstinacy of his own government, and the ill-judged measures of one of our admirals, is, notwithstanding the misfortune that befel him, a brave and excellent seaman.

The attack upon the Chesapeake frigate was sudden and unexpected, otherwise Captain Barron would certainly have prepared his ship for action on the probability of such an event. It appears that he left port under no apprehension of such an attack; and it is positively said, that he was ignorant of any British deserters being at that time on board; but that the officer who was on the recruiting party had enrolled four of our men under false names, and as American citizens, (certificates of which might easily be obtained for a false oath and a dollar), and had sent them on board the Chesapeake without acquainting Captain Barron who they really were. The captain, of course, did not trouble himself to scrutinize the history of his seamen, many of whom he had good reason to believe were Englishmen, though, perhaps, not deserters; they might have entered from British merchantmen; if so, he was justified in his assertion to Captain Humphries, that he had no deserters on board to his knowledge; and in that respect, cannot be accused of speaking falsely.

It is not, however, my wish to vindicate the American government, or even Captain Barron from the charge of encouraging British deserters to enter their naval service; all that I aim at, is to place things in their true light, without favour or affection for one person or nation rather than another. That Captain Barron was culpa-

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ble "for neglecting, on the probability of an engagement to clear his ship for action," there is no doubt, since it was on that charge, and on that alone, that the court-martial sentenced him to be suspended from all command in the navy for five years. Upon every other allegation he was honourably acquitted.

The following extract from the opinions of the court upon the fourth and last charges, will serve to explain their sentiments on the subject, without entering into a detail of the several specifications:

"The attack of the Leopard was not suitably repelled by the Chesapeake, because it appears to the court, that circumstanced as the two ships then were, boarding the Leopard would have been impracticable; and, of course, no other means of repelling her attack remained but in the use of the Chesapeake's guns. That all these guns were loaded, and not one of them was fired before the flag of the Chesapeake was struck is most certain; but, yet it appears to the court, that Captain Barron, and the officers commanding divisions, did every thing, which they could do, to get them fired; and that the colours were not struck until all reasonable hope of succeeding in properly repelling the attack, in this way, was lost. The injuries sustained, either in the Chesapeake or her crew, did not, at that time, make her surrender necessary. Captain Barron might have waited until she had received many more

and greater injuries, and had lost the lives and services of many more of her crew, before he could have been compelled, by these causes, to have struck his flag. But, during this interval of certain injury, he could have had no reasonable hope, even after he had sustained it, of doing any thing to the annoyance of his adversary. And, in such a situation, he stands justified in the opinion of the court in striking his flag. The striking his flag without consulting his officers, is a circumstance which this court consider of no consequence. It is not the duty of a commander, under any circumstances, (and in the situation in which Captain Barron then was, it would have been highly improper) to consult his inferior officers as to the propriety of hauling down his colours. It is the opinion of the court, therefore, that Captain James Barron is **NOT GUILTY** under this fourth and last charge, "for not doing his utmost to take or destroy the Leopard, which vessel it was his duty to encounter," as this charge is explained and limited by the specifications annexed to it.

"In giving these opinions, it will be perceived, that the court have felt themselves bound to consider the several charges preferred as explained and limited by the specifications annexed to them respectively. The opinion of the court, therefore, upon the charges of which they have

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acquitted the accused, is to be considered in no other way, than that he is not guilty under these charges as so explained and limited. No transposition of the specifications, or any other modifications of the charges themselves, would alter the opinion of the court as to the firmness and courage of the accused. The evidence upon this head, is clear and satisfactory.

"The court having agreed in the preceding opinions that Captain James Barron, although not guilty of three of the charges preferred against him, is, nevertheless, guilty under that wherein he is accused "for neglecting, on the probability of an engagement, to clear his ship for action," do further agree, that the said Captain James Barron, being guilty of this charge, falls under part of the fourth article of the Rules and Regulations for the government of the navy of the United States, adopted by an act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the twenty-third day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred, and entitled, "An Act for the better Government of the Navy of the United States," and they do adjudge and SENTENCE the said Captain James Barron to be SUSPENDED from all command in the navy of the United States, and this without pay or official emoluments of any kind, for the period and term of FIVE YEARS, from this eighth

day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eight.

JOHN RODGERS,
WM. BAINBRIDGE,
HUGH G. CAMPBELL,
STEPHEN DECATURE, JUN.
JOHN SHAW,
JOHN SMITH,
D. PORTER,
JOS. TARBELL,
J. JONES,
JAS. LAWRENCE,
CHAS. LUDLOW,

LITTIN W. TAZEWELL, *Judge Advocate*"

The above sentence was confirmed by the President of the United States.

DR. MITCHILL.

DR. MITCHILL was a boy when the declaration of independence was made in 1776; and had not attained maturity when that independence was allowed and confirmed by Great Britain. He spent several years immediately subsequent to the establishment of peace, in Europe, visiting France, England and Scotland, for the purpose

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of education. Being destined for the profession of physic, he took a doctor's degree at Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1786; and the next year returned to his native country. It is related of Dr. Mitchill, that he imbibed a taste for natural history when a child, by reading Goldsmith's "Animated Nature," which accidentally fell into his hands. This was afterwards much improved by a sight of the cabinets in London and Paris, but more particularly by the lectures and experiments of Dr. Black, and the discourses and exhibition of specimens by professor Walker.

On leaving Europe, he was intrusted with public dispatches from Mr. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the court of St. James's, to some of the heads of departments in the American government. He arrived in America just in season to witness the progress of another revolution in the national government, from the loose and ill-compacted confederation of the states, hastily conceived during the war, to the more efficient and better planned system of the new federal constitution.

Dr. Mitchill's political principles being in unison with those of the republican or democratic party, he was chosen to represent the city of New York, in Congress, soon after Mr. Jefferson's election to the presidency. He is consequently numbered among the friends of that gentleman,

and continues to support the measures of Mr. Madison, his successor.

The attention of Dr. Mitchill has been a good deal directed to philosophical objects; in the prosecution of which he has carried on a very extensive correspondence, not only with the learned men and societies of his own country, but also with those of Europe. The subjects which he has investigated with most labour, are, the production, composition, and operation of pestilential fluids, or the history of those cases or vapours which infect the atmosphere, and excite febrile distempers. The doctrine of Septon, offered to the world by him and his pupils, in consequence of these investigations, forms a memorable era in modern science. Dr. Mitchill has also a considerable taste for poetry; but very few of his labours in that department of the belles lettres have yet found their way into print. He resides at New York, where he enjoys the comforts of a moderate fortune, and the esteem of his fellow citizens.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

ALTHOUGH this celebrated political writer has, *for the present*, taken up his residence amongst

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us, yet the conspicuous part which he bore in the United States for several years, entitles him to a place in this collection of American public characters. Though by birth an Englishman, he became an American citizen, and in that capacity he ventured to enter the lists with the political demagogues of that country. His talents at writing, though not of the most polished kind, were manly and nervous ; and, the boldness with which he attacked his opponents, soon brought him into notice and favour with the party whose cause he espoused. After successfully resisting the jacobinical tenets and doctrines of the French party in America, and realizing a moderate share of property, he came to England in 1800, and commenced the Political Register, a work which, whatever its merits or demerits may be, has since been the means of procuring him a handsome independence, and has brought him more into notice in Europe than ever his former publications did in America.

The rise and progress of such a man cannot but be interesting ; and without entering upon the question, whether his writings have proved him a friend or an enemy to his country, I shall merely present the reader with a short sketch of his life, which, in order to exhibit his political sentiments and opinions while in America, I have selected from the memoir that he published in 1796, during his residence in that country.

"To be descended from an illustrious family," says Cobbett, "certainly reflects honour on any man, in spite of the sans-culotte principles of the present day. This is, however, an honour that I have no pretension to. All that I can boast of in my birth is, that I was born in Old England. With respect to my ancestors, I shall go no farther back than my grandfather, and for this plain reason, that I never heard talk of any prior to him. He was a day labourer; and I have heard my father say, that he worked for one farmer from the day of his marriage to that of his death, upwards of forty years.

"My father, when I was born, was a farmer. The reader will easily believe, from the poverty of his parents, that he had received no very brilliant education; he was, however, learned, for a man in his rank of life. When a little boy, he drove the plough for two-pence a day; and these his earnings were appropriated to the expenses of an evening school. What a village schoolmaster could be expected to teach, he had learnt; and had, besides, considerably improved himself in several branches of the mathematics. He understood land-surveying well, and was often chosen to draw plans of disputed territory: in short he had the reputation of possessing experience and understanding, which never fails in England, to give a man, in a country place, some

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little weight with his neighbours. He was honest, industrious, and frugal ; it was not therefore wonderful that he should be situated in a good farm, and happy in a wife of his own rank, like him, beloved and respected. So much for my ancestors, from whom, if I derive no honour, I derive no shame.

“ I had, and I hope I yet have, three brothers : the eldest is a shopkeeper ; the second a farmer, and the youngest, if alive, is in the service of the East India Company, a private soldier. I was born in 1766. A father like ours, it will readily be supposed, did not suffer us to eat the bread of idleness. I do not remember the time *when I did not* earn my living. My first occupation was, driving the small birds from the turnip seed, and the rooks from the peas. When I first trudged a-field, with my wooden bottle, and my satchel swung over my shoulders, I was hardly able to climb the gates and stiles ; and, at the close of day, to reach home was a task of infinite difficulty. My next employment was weeding wheat, and leading a single horse at harrowing barley. Hoeing peas followed, and hence, I arrived at the honour of joining the reapers in harvest, driving the team, and holding the plough. We were all of us strong and laborious, and my father used to say, that he had four boys, the eldest of whom was but fifteen years old, who

did as much work as any three men in the parish of Farnham. Honest pride, and happy days !

“ I have some faint recollection of going to school to an old woman, who, I believe did not succeed in teaching me my letters. In the winter evenings my father taught us all to read and write, and gave us a pretty tolerable knowledge of arithmetic: Grammar he did not perfectly understand himself; and therefore his endeavours to teach us that, necessarily failed. Our religion was that of the Church of England, to which I have ever remained attached; the more so, perhaps, as it bears the name of my country. As to politics, we were like the rest of the country people in England; that is to say, we neither knew nor thought any thing about the matter. The shouts of victory, or the murmurs of a defeat, would now and then break in upon our tranquillity for a moment; but I do not remember ever having seen a newspaper in the house; and most certainly, that privation did not render us less industrious, happy, or free.

“ After, however, the American war had continued for some time, and the cause and nature of it began to be understood, or rather misunderstood, by the lower classes of the people in England, we became a little better acquainted with subjects of this kind. It is well known, that the people were, as to numbers, nearly equally divided in their opinions concerning that war, and their

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wishes respecting the result of it. My father was a partizan of the Americans : he used frequently to dispute on the subject with the gardener of a nobleman who lived near us. This was generally done with good humour, over a pot of our best ale ; yet the disputants sometimes grew warm, and gave way to language that could not fail to attract our attention. My father was worsted, without doubt, as he had for an antagonist a shrewd and sensible old Scotchman, far his superior in political knowledge ; but he pleaded before a partial audience : we thought there was but one wise man in the world, and that one was our father. He who pleaded the cause of the Americans, had an advantage, too, with young minds : he had only to represent the king's troops as sent to cut the throats of a people, our friends and relations, merely because they would not submit to oppression ; and his cause was gained. Speaking to the passions is ever sure to succeed on the uninformed.

“ Whether my father was in the right or in the wrong is not now worth talking about : that I had no opinion of my own is certain ; for had my father been on the other side, I should have been on the other side too. I mention this merely to shew that I was not “ nursed in the lap of aristocracy,” and that I did not imbibe my principles or prejudices, from those who were the advocates of blind submission. If my father had any fault.

it was not being submissive enough ; and I am too much afraid, my acquaintances have but too often discovered *the same fault in his son*.

“ It would be as useless as unentertaining to dwell on the occupations and sports of a country boy ; to lead the reader to fairs, cricket matches and hare hunts. I shall therefore come at once to the epoch when an accident happened, that gave that turn to my future life, which at last brought me to the United States. Towards the autumn of 1782, I went to visit a relation who lived in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. From the top of Portsdown, I for the first time, beheld the sea, and no sooner did I behold it, than I wished to be a sailor. I could never account for this sudden impulse, nor can I now. Almost all English boys feel the same inclination : it would seem that, like young ducks, instinct leads them to rush on the bosom of the water.

“ But it was not the sea alone that I saw : the grand fleet was riding at anchor at Spithead. I had heard of the wooden walls of Old England ; I had formed my ideas of a ship, and a fleet, but what I now beheld so far surpassed what I had ever been able to form a conception of, that I stood lost between astonishment and admiration. I had heard talk of the glorious deeds of our admirals and sailors ; of the defeat of the Spanish armada, and of all those memorable combats, that good and true Englishmen never fail to relate to

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their children about a hundred times a year. The sight of the fleet brought all these into my mind ; my heart was inflated with national pride. The sailors were my countrymen ; the fleet belonged to my country, and surely I had my part in it and all its honours ; yet, these honours I had not earned ; I took to myself a sort of reproach for possessing what I had no right to, and resolved to have a just claim, by sharing in the hardships and dangers."

Mr. Cobbett then proceeds to relate his attempt to enter on board Capt. Berkeley's ship, from which he was dissuaded by the captain, who represented to him the hardships and dangers he must undergo, and told him, that it was better to be led to church in a halter—to be tied to a girl that he did not like, than to be tied to the gangway, or as the sailors call it, married to *Miss Roper*. "From the conclusion of this wholesome counsel," says Cobbett, "I perceived that the captain thought I had eloped on account of a bastard ; I blushed, and that confirmed him in his opinion. I in vain attempted to convince him that choice alone had led me to the sea ; he sent me on shore, and I at last quitted Portsmouth. Thus I happily escaped, sorely against my will, from the most toilsome and perilous profession in the world."

After this, Cobbett returned again to the plough ; but not with the calm and peaceful sen-

sations which he before felt. He now sighed for a sight of the world ; and every thing in which he had formerly taken delight, now became insipid to his heated imagination.

“ It was on the 6th of May, 1783,” continues Cobbett, “ that I, like Don Quixotte, sallied forth to seek adventures. I was dressed in my holiday clothes, in order to accompany two or three lasses to Guildford fair. They were to assemble at a house about three miles from my home, where I was to attend them ; but, unfortunately for me, I had to cross the turnpike-road. The stage-coach had just turned the summit of a hill, and was rattling down towards me at a merry rate. The notion of going to London never entered my mind till this very moment, yet the step was completely determined on, before the coach came to the spot where I stood. Up I got, and was in London about nine o’clock in the evening.

“ It was by mere accident, that I had money enough to defray the expenses of this day. Being rigged out for the fair, I had three or four crown and half crown pieces, (which most certainly I did not intend to spend), besides a few shillings and halfpence. This, my little all, which I had been years in amassing, melted away, like snow before the sun, when touched by the fingers of the inkeepers and their waiters. In short, when

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I arrived at Ludgate-hill, and had paid my fare, I had but about half-a-crown in my pocket.

“By a commencement of that good luck which has hitherto attended me through all the situations in which fortune has placed me, I was preserved from ruin. A gentleman who was one of the passengers in the stage, fell into conversation with me at dinner, and he soon learnt that I was going I knew not whither, nor for what. This gentleman was a hop-merchant in the borough of Southwark, and upon closer inquiry, it appeared that he had often dealt with my father at Wey-Hill. He knew the danger I was in; he was himself a father, and he felt for my parents: his house became my home; he wrote to my father, and endeavoured to prevail on me to obey his orders, which were to return home immediately, I am ashamed to say that I was disobedient. It was the first time I had ever been so, and I have repented of it from that moment to this. Willingly would I have returned, but pride would not suffer me to do it. I feared the scoll's of my acquaintance more than the real evils that threatened me.

“My generous preserver, finding my obstinacy not to be overcome, began to look out for an employment for me. He was preparing an advertisement for the newspaper, when an acquaintance of his, an attorney, called in to see him. He related my adventure to this gentleman, whose

name was Holland, and who happening to want an understrapping quill-driver, did me the honour to take me into his service, and the next day saw me perched upon a great high stool, in an obscure chamber in Gray's Inn, endeavouring to decypher the crabbed draughts of my employer.

"I could write a good plain hand, but I could not read the pot-hooks and hangers of Mr. Holland. He was a month in teaching me to copy without almost continual assistance, and even then I was but of little use to him; for, besides that I wrote a snail's pace, my want of knowledge in orthography, gave him infinite trouble; so that, for the first two months, I was a dead weight upon his hands. Time, however, rendered me useful; and Mr. Holland was pleased to tell me, that he was very well satisfied with me, just at the very moment when I began to grow extremely dissatisfied with him.

"No part of my life has been totally unattended with pleasure, except the eight, or nine months I passed in Gray's Inn. The office (for so the dungeon where I wrote was called) was so dark, that on cloudy days we were obliged to burn candle. I worked like a galley-slave from five in the morning till eight or nine at night, and sometimes all night long. How many quarrels here I assisted to foment and perpetuate between those poor innocent fellows, John Doe and Richard Roe! How many times (God forgive

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me) have I set them to assault each other with guns, swords, staves, and pitchforks, and then brought them to answer for their misdeeds before our sovereign Lord the King seated in his court of Westminster ! When I think of the *soids* and *so,forths*, and the counts of tautology that I scribbled over ; when I think of those sheets of seventy-two words, and those lines *two inches* apart, my brain turns. Gracious Heaven ! if I am doomed to be wretched, bury me beneath Iceland snows, and let me feed on blubber ; stretch me under the burning line, and deny me thy propitious dew ; nay, if it be thy will, suffocate me with the infected and pestilential air of a democratic club-room ; but save me from the desk of an attorney !

“ Mr. Holland was but little in the chambers himself. He always went out to dinner, while I was left to be provided for by the *laundress* as he called her. Those gentlemen of the law, who have resided in the inns of court in London, know very well what a *laundress* means. Our’s was, I believe, the oldest and ugliest of the sisterhood. She had age and experience enough to be lady-abbess of all the nuns in all the convents of Irish town. It would be wronging the witch of Endor to compare her to this hag, who was the only creature that deigned to enter into conversation with me. All except the name, I was in prison, and this weird sister was my keeper. Our chambers were to *me*, what the subterraneous ca-

vern was to Gil Blas : his description of the dame Leonarda exactly suited my laundress, nor were the professions, or rather the practice of our masters, altogether dissimilar."

Tired of his confinement in this gloomy place, Cobbett enlisted, in 1784, into a regiment that was going to Nova Scotia. As it was at this period that his taste for literature commenced, and gave that turn to his future pursuits which has since raised him to his present celebrity, I shall give the account of it in his own words.

"I remained," says he, "upwards of a year at Chatham, during which time I was employed in learning my exercise, and taking my tour in the duty of the garrison. My leisure time, which was a very considerable portion of the twenty-four hours, was spent, not in the dissipations common to such a way of life, but in reading and study. In the course of this year I learnt more than I had ever done before. I subscribed to a circulating library at Brompton, the greatest part of the books in which, I read more than once over. The library was not very considerable, it is true, nor in my reading was I directed by any degree of taste or choice. Novels, plays, history, poetry, all were read, and nearly with equal avidity.

"Such a course of reading could be attended with but little profit : it was skimming over the surface of every thing. One branch of learning,

however, the most essential, the mother tongue, and knowledge of the English language, I neglected ; I should have devoted more of it, had I been at home, to whose friend I was indebted. Writing a copyist, and of the general rules of grammar, I took no notice by letter, nor saw my duty in study. Hence, at the junction, a success.

"I procured myself a copy of the English language, and was a constant reader, that I read unremittingly, and write with this study, and advantage ; ways sober, not being

however, I went to the bottom with, and that the most essential branch too, the grammar of my mother tongue. I had experienced the want of a knowledge of grammar during my stay with Mr. Holland ; but it is very probable that I never should have thought of encountering the study of it, had not accident placed me under a man whose friendship extended beyond his interest. Writing a fair hand procured me the honor of being copyist to Colonel Debeig, the commandant of the garrison. Being totally ignorant of the rules of grammar, I necessarily made many mistakes in copying, because no one can copy letter by letter, nor even word by word. The colonel saw my deficiency, and strongly recommended study. He enforced his advice with a sort of injunction, and with a promise of reward in case of success.

“I procured me a Lowth's Grammar, and applied myself to the study of it with unceasing assiduity, and not without some profit ; though it was a considerable time before I understood all that I read, still I read and studied with such unremitting attention, that, at last, I could write without falling into any very gross errors. This study, too, was attended with another advantage ; it kept me out of mischief. I was always sober and regular in my attendance ; and not being a clumsy fellow, I met with none o

those reproofs which disgust so many young men with the service.

"There is no situation where merit is so sure to meet with reward as in a well disciplined army. Those who command are obliged to reward it for their own ease and credit. I was soon raised to the rank of a corporal ; a rank, which however contemptible in some people's eyes, brought me in a clear two-pence *per diem*, and put a very clever worsted knot on my shoulder too. As promotion began to dawn I grew impatient to get to my regiment, where I expected soon to bask under the rays of royal favour. The happy day of departure at last came : we set sail from Gravesend, and after a short and pleasant passage, arrived at Halifax, in Nova Scotia.

"When I first beheld the barren, not to say hideous rocks, at the entrance of the harbour, I began to fear that the master of the vessel had mistaken his way ; for I could perceive nothing of that fertility that my good recruiting captain had dwelt on with so much delight. Nova Scotia had no other charm for me than that of novelty. Every thing I saw was new ; bogs, rocks, and stumps, musquitos, and bull-frogs : thousands of captains and colonels without soldiers ; and of *squires* without shoes or stockings. In England I had never thought of approaching a squire without a most respectful bow ; but in this new world, though I was but a corporal, I often or-

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"We staid but a few weeks in Nova Scotia, being ordered to St. John's, in the province of New Brunswick. Here, and at other places in the same province, we remained till the month of September, 1791, when the regiment was relieved and sent home.

"We landed at Portsmouth on the 3d of November, and on the 19th of the next month I obtained my discharge, after having served not quite eight years, and after having, in that short space, passed through every rank from that of a private sentinel to that of serjeant-major, without ever having been once disgraced, confined, or even reprimanded."

Cobbett obtained certificates of his good conduct from Major Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and General Frederick, both of whom also returned him their thanks on that occasion. Soon after his discharge he took a wife, and in March, 1792, went over to France, where he remained six months. Cobbett does not mention his motives for that trip, but expresses himself much gratified with the civil and hospitable reception he met with from the people; and declares that the peasantry every where regretted the revolution. He would have remained longer in France for the purpose of perfecting himself in the French language, had not the dethronement of the king

obliged him to hasten his departure. He had long determined to take up his abode in the United States, a country where he then thought that men enjoyed a greater degree of liberty than in England. Cobbett, however, was most likely impelled to emigrate thither on account of the court-martial upon some of his officers, in which he was concerned, and which has lately made a considerable noise in the disputes between him and his political opponents. However this may have been, he certainly embarked at Havre de Grace for America, and carried with him a letter of recommendation from Mr. Short, the American ambassador at the Hague, to Mr. Jefferson, who was at that time secretary of state. This letter was, however, of no service to him, as there was then no vacancy in any of the public offices, that he could be appointed to; but Mr. Jefferson assured him of his inclination to serve him in any other pursuit.

Cobbett next proceeds to refute the assertions of the American democrats, who endeavoured to calumniate his character, by saying that Bradford, a bookseller and publisher at Philadelphia, had "put a coat on his back," when he was without a shilling to help himself, and that he was, or had been, in the pay of a British agent.

"In the month of July, 1794," says Cobbett, "the famous Unitarian doctor, fellow of the Royal Society, London, citizen of France, and

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delegate to the *Grande Convention Nationale*, of notorious memory, landed at New York. His landing was nothing to me, nor to any body else ; but, the fulsome and consequential addresses, sent him by the pretended patriots, and his canting replies, at once calculated to flatter the people here, and to degrade his country and mine, was something to me. It was my business, and the business of every man, who thinks that truth ought to be opposed to malice and hypocrisy.

“ When my “ *Observations*” on the emigration of this “ martyr to the cause of liberty,” were ready for the press, I did not, at first, offer them to Mr. Bradford. I knew him to retain a rooted hatred against Great Britain, and concluded that his principles would prevent him from being instrumental in the publication of any thing that tended to unveil one of its most bitter enemies. I therefore addressed myself to Mr. Carey. This was, to make use of a culinary figure, jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Mr. Carey received me as booksellers generally receive authors (I mean authors whom they expect to get but little by) : he looked at the title from top to bottom, and then at me, from head to foot. “ No, *my lad*,” says he, “ I don’t think it will suit.” *My lad* ! God in heaven forgive me ! I believe that, at that moment, I wished for another yellow fever to strike the city ; not to destroy the inhabitants, but to furnish me with *the subject of a*

pamphlet, that might make me rich. Mr. Carey has sold hundreds of the "*Observations*" since that time, and therefore I dare say he highly approved of them when he came to a perusal. At any rate, I must not forget to say, that he behaved honorably in the business ; for he promised not to make known the author, and he certainly kept his word, or the discovery would not have been reserved for the month of June, 1796. This circumstance, considering Mr. Carey's politics, is greatly to his honour, and has almost wiped from my memory that contumelious "*my lad*."

" From Mr. Carey, I went to Mr. Bradford, and left the pamphlet for his perusal. The next day I went to him to know his determination. He hesitated, wanted to know if I could not make it a little *more popular*, adding, that unless I could, he feared that the publishing of it would endanger *his windows*. *More popular* I could not make it. I never was of an accommodating disposition in my life. The only alteration I would consent to, was in the title. I had given the pamphlet the double title of the *Tartuffe detected* ; or *Observations*, &c." The former was therefore suppressed.

" These difficulties, and these fears of the bookseller, at once opened my eyes with respect to the boasted liberty of the press in America. The work that it was feared would draw down punishment on the publisher, did not contain one

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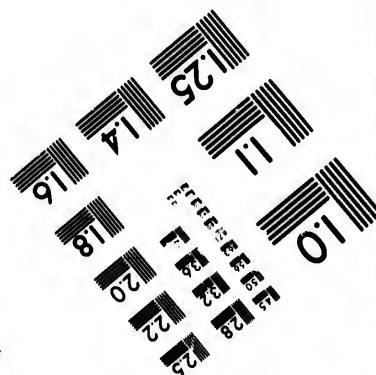
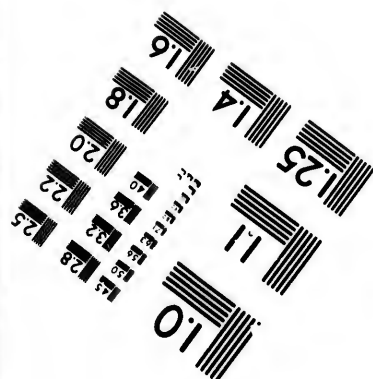
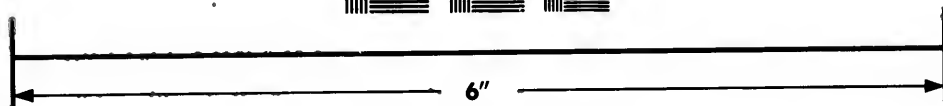
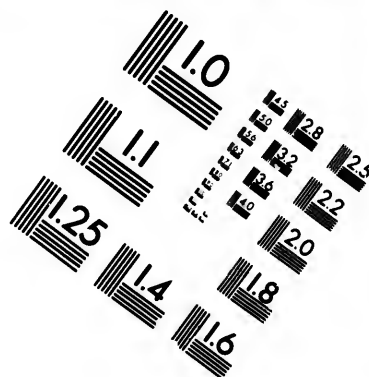
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untruth, one anarchical, indecent, immoral, or irreligious expression ; and yet the bookseller feared for his windows ! For what ? Because it was not *popular enough*. A bookseller, in a *despotic* state, fears to publish a work that is *too popular* ; and one in a *free* state, fears to publish a work that is not *popular enough*. I leave it to the learned philosophers of the “ Age of Reason ” to determine, in which of these states there is the most liberty of the press ; for I must acknowledge the point is too nice for me : fear is fear, whether inspired by a sovereign Lord the King, or by a sovereign people.

“ The terms on which Mr. Bradford took the “ *Observations* ” were, what booksellers call *publishing it together*. I beg the reader, if he foresees the possibility of his becoming an author, to recollect this phrase well. *Publishing it together*, is thus managed : the bookseller takes the work, prints it, and defrays all expenses of paper, binding, &c. and the profits, if any, are divided between him and the author. Long after the *Observations* were sold off, Mr. Bradford rendered me an account (undoubtedly a very just one) of the sales. According to this account, my share of the profits (my share only) amounted to the sum of *one shilling and sevenpence halfpenny* currency of the state of Pennsylvania (or $11\frac{3}{4}d.$ sterling) quite entirely clear of all deductions whatsoever.

“ Now, bulky as this sum appears in words at





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length, I presume, that when 1s. 7½*d.* is reduced to figures, no one will suppose it sufficient to put a coat upon my back. If my poor back were not too broad to be clothed with such a sum as this, God knows how I should bear all that has been, and is, and is to be, laid on it by the unmerciful democrats! Why! 1s. 7½*d.* would not cover the back of a Lilliputian! no, not even in rags, as they sell here.

“After the *Observations*, Mr. Bradford and I published it together no longer. When a pamphlet was ready for the press, we made a bargain for it, and I took his note of hand, payable in one, two, or three months. That the public may know exactly what gains I have derived from the publications that issued from Mr. Bradford’s, I here subjoin a list of them, and the sums received in payment:—

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“ <i>Observations</i> , sterling money	0	0	11½
Bone to Gnaw, 1st Part	28	2	6
Kick for a Bite	4	10	0
Bone to Gnaw, 2d Part	9	0	0
Plain English	22	10	0
New Year’s Gift	22	10	0
Prospect	4	1	0
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Mr. Cobbett next proceeds to refute the assertion of his being in the pay of a British agent, and concludes his memoir with some severe strictures on the democrats.

It appears that this indefatigable political writer afterwards opened a shop in Philadelphia, and commenced the business of bookseller and stationer. He was also engaged in the writing of several works, and shortly after commenced the journal which was known under the name of "Porcupine's Gazette." This work procured him much celebrity both abroad and at home, and at that revolutionary period, was of considerable service in stemming the torrent of jacobinism, which threatened to overwhelm the country.

Mr. Cobbett returned to England just before the peace of Amiens, and published the whole of his works in twelve octavo volumes, under the title of "Porcupine's Works." His progress, since that period, is too well known to the world for me to enter into the particulars of it; and the public is better able to appreciate his character and principles from his writings, than from any thing that another could say on the subject; which they might be apt to imagine proceeded either from the partiality of a friend, or the prejudice of an enemy.

GENERAL PINCKNEY.

THE family of the Pinckneys are among the most respectable of those who, at the commencement of the revolutionary contest, took an active part in favour of American independence. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and his brother Thomas, are both natives of the State of South Carolina, where they still reside on their respective estates.

The General was born about the year 1740, and when of a proper age, was sent, with his brother, to be educated at one of our public schools in England. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, his father, who was at that time Chief Justice of South Carolina, joined the patriotic party, while his son Charles, who was then a member of the General Assembly of that state, resigned his situation, and joined the American standard.

Mr. Pinckney entered the ranks as one of the Charleston Volunteers; from which he was afterwards appointed Major of the first regiment of the line, raised by the state of South Carolina, under the command of Colonel Gadsden, on whose promotion he succeeded to the command

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The first engagement in which this regiment took part, was in the defence of Fort Moultrie, which was attacked by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton.

This fort was erected on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the harbour of Charleston. The Americans had fortified it with twenty-two and thirty-two pounders, and garrisoned it with about 300 men. The British having resolved to attack this island, previous to their descent on Charleston, Admiral Parker, in the Bristol of 50 guns, with the Experiment of 50 guns, the Solebay, Acteon, Syren, and Sphynx frigates, the Thunder bomb, and an armed ship, got under way; and in a short time these ships, having all (except the Acteon, which ran aground) got springs on their cables, began a tremendous fire on the fort. At the same time the army attacked in boats; the floating batteries and armed craft moving to cover their landing.

From a quarter past eleven o'clock till half past one, the ships continued to receive an unremitting fire from the fort, when it slackened for a short time, owing to want of ammunition; but that being supplied, the fire was renewed, and did not cease till nine at night, when the ships were hove off, the Bristol and Experiment being left almost wrecks on the water. The quarter deck of the Bristol was twice cleared of

officers by the enemy's fire ; but our gallant admiral stood with great composure and coolness, notwithstanding the slaughter around him ; an instance of determined bravery which has certainly never been surpassed, though often equalled by British sailors. The Bristol, whose complement of men did not much exceed three hundred, had her captain and forty men killed, and seventy-one wounded.

While we applaud the undaunted intrepidity of our own seamen, we cannot but admire the persevering ardour and bravery of the Americans, who with such a small and unequal force, triumphed over their gallant assailants. Nothing but the highest degree of enthusiasm for the cause in which they had embarked, could have enabled them to stand against such a superior force.

The gallant conduct of Colonel Pinckney on this occasion, obtained for him the marked approbation of General Washington, who appointed him one of his aides-de-camp, in which capacity he served at the battles of Brandy-wine and German-town. The Southern States being again attacked by the British forces, Colonel Pinckney obtained leave to return to his native country, where he accordingly resumed the command of his regiment, at the head of which he made an assault on Savannah.

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On his return from Georgia, Colonel Pinckney was appointed by General Lincoln commandant of Fort Moultrie ; but on Charleston being besieged by land, and bombarded by a part of the British fleet, the Colonel's regiment was ordered to its defence, when, after a gallant resistance, he was, with the remainder of the garrison, taken prisoner, under honourable terms of capitulation. This event appears to have terminated the military career of Colonel Pinckney, as he could not procure himself to be exchanged till towards the conclusion of the war.

Peace had no sooner taken place, than Mr. Pinckney was appointed a delegate to the Federal Congress, and signed the present constitution of the United States in the year 1788. On the score of gratitude to the French, though an impulse very different from *friendship* caused them to take the part of America, he, with many leading characters in the United States, was the avowed advocate of that nation, and so continued, till their enormities changed those sentiments to the contempt and hatred of all good men. Mr. Pinckney has additional cause to despise them ; for the then insolent republic refused to acknowledge him as the minister plenipotentiary at Paris.

Mr. Pinckney was afterwards, commander-in-chief of the militia of South Carolina ; and was

third in command under General Washington, when, the United States army was sent to quell the western insurrection. General Pinckney has been employed in several diplomatic missions, in which, if it has not been his good fortune always to succeed, he has been guided by a patriotic regard for the interests of his country, and displayed an open and conciliating spirit of negotiation best calculated to preserve peace and unanimity with foreign nations.

WILLIAM PINCKNEY.

THIS gentleman I am informed is a native of Virginia, and no relation of the Pinckneys of South Carolina. He is well known from his official situation in this country, and the concern which he had jointly with Mr. Munroe in framing the treaty which was afterwards rejected by Mr. Jefferson. With respect to the early period of his public career, I have not been able to procure any other information than what is contained in some observations of an American writer, upon his diplomatic mission in England.

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ney to Mr. Madison, dated London, 21st Sept. 1808, this writer says, " In order to understand correctly, and to weigh with judgment, the opinions of Mr. Pinckney, it may be useful to take a view of the extraordinary and untenable ground, which he has assumed in this letter.

" Mr. Pinckney was originally a federalist, educated under the patronage of Judge Chase, and first brought into notice under the administration of Washington. In the office of commissioner under the British treaty, in which he acted in conjunction with Mr. Gore, he was so far from holding the opinions of the present administration, that he was rather opposed to Mr. Gore and Colonel Trumbull, on one of the most important questions which came before the board—the question of the colonial trade. Before the commission had been entirely fulfilled, Mr. Pinckney betrayed some strong symptoms of a change of politics, and on his return to Maryland, he discovered such unequivocal marks of disaffection to his old friends and principles, that Mr. Jefferson was induced to nominate him to his present important office. Any man who has noticed the course and conduct of political men, must have remarked, that *new* converts always manifest a zeal, proportioned to the diffidence and distrust which would, and which does, naturally arise, with respect to those who suddenly change their political opinions. Our republic,

though in its infancy, has exhibited many striking examples of this nature.

“ In the course of the late interesting correspondence with Great Britain, the whole public and private conduct of Mr. Pinckney evinces a fixed determination to retain his place; to humour and flatter the destructive whims and notions of the present administration.

“ Mr. Pinckney had learned that the unexpected and astonishing change in Portugal and Spain, had excited a great and honourable sensibility in this country, and that our people, yielding to the influence of these generous feelings, which perfectly coincided not only with their *own* immediate interests but with the public welfare, were extremely urgent to have the intercourse with Portugal and Spain opened.

“ Mr. Pinckney, reasoning rather like a French minister, than an American representative, with his eyes open *only* to the effects which such a proper and noble measure would have on France, rather than its operation on our own interests, or the dictates of generous sympathy, combats with great zeal the policy of opening our intercourse with these two gallant nations, who were struggling for their freedom.

“ The substance, and indeed the only argument of weight urged by him, is the danger of a rupture with France. To avoid this (in *his mind*) greatest calamity, we are now to forego our own

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rights and advantages; we are to be cold towards these assertors of the rights of mankind, and we are to throw ourselves into the humble train of the vassals of France.

“ Mr. Pinckney, after stating that it would be more agreeable to France that we should take off the embargo wholly, or even take it off as to Great Britain alone, rather than remove it as to Spain and Portugal, proceeds to eulogize the *embargo* at large, to praise the wisdom and energy of that measure, which all intelligent men have now abandoned.

“ That Mr. Pinckney should be disposed to frame his letter so as to favour the views of the administration, will not be surprizing to any man who knows the circumstances of his appointment.

“ Still, however, truth, always unchangeable, and indeed almost omnipotent, enables us to triumph over these well-concerted diplomatic manœuvres.

“ Mr. Pinckney was sent to Europe as envoy extraordinary with Mr. Munroe, in order to negotiate a treaty. They effected the object of their mission, and in a manner so satisfactory, that they declared to Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Jefferson stated to Congress, that ‘ all the points in dispute were satisfactorily adjusted.’

“ The interest of France, however, forbade the ratification of this treaty, and the pretended

friend of the people, Mr. Jefferson, ventured to do what Washington never did, nor would have dared to have done, he rejected this solemn and advantageous treaty on his own mere authority and opinion, without submitting it to the senate.

"Mr. Pinckney's powers ceased on the signing this treaty, and when Mr. Munroe left England, he remained there not as an *accredited minister*, but a mere *charge des affaires*, or agent, for Mr. Munroe. It was then necessary to appoint a new minister, or clothe Mr. Pinckney with powers.

"In Feb' 1808, Mr. Jefferson nominated him *merely as a form*, and General Bradley, and all the friends of the president in the senate were instructed, that the appointment was to be negatived, in order to relieve the president from the odium and responsibility of removing a man appointed by himself.

"General Bradley went so far as to move an inquiry into the manner in which he had executed his office and obeyed his instructions, with a view to negative the nomination.

"In the interim, a letter was received from Mr. Pinckney, so fully supporting the views, the whims, and destructive notions of the cabinet, so replete with prejudice and abuse against Great Britain, that the president's friends shamelessly withdrew their objections and inquiries, without any avowed reason, and assented to the appointment of a man whom they found quite

suppliant government trusted. There was no dangerous cable settle things they

"We have had Pinckney's talents from any nations. The public honor necessary for the nation.

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suppliant enough, and sufficiently *hostile* to the government to which he was agent, to be safely trusted. They knew that in such hands there was no danger of a good understanding or amicable settlement with Great Britain, which of all things they most dreaded.

“ We have too high an opinion of Mr. Pinckney’s talents, to believe these opinions to arise from any thing but a desire to please his patrons. They were the expected returns for his public honours and emoluments. They were a necessary sacrifice for the reputation of his patrons.

“ Will any man, acquainted with the state of Great Britain, believe him when he tells us the embargo is deeply felt in that country ; that their wheat crop had failed, or was *alarmingly short* ? Our mercantile men know better. We know that the embargo produces no political effect in Great Britain, but that the first operation was the most considerable. The anticipation was more serious than the reality, and every day, while it lessens the effect, diminishes the apprehension. In short, we should be obliged to let Mr. Pinckney down to a low niche in the scale of understanding, if we could not find a refuge for him, in his desire to please his political patrons.”

The letter which we now present to our rea-

ders, is worthy of all their attention, and will excite the most serious and alarming reflections:

Extracts of a private Letter from Mr. Pinckney to Mr. Madison.

London, September 21, 1808.

“ The Hope arrived at Cowes from France, the 13th.

“ Not having heard from Mr. Canning, although he returned to London the 16th, I called again yesterday at Downing-street, and was assured that the answer to my note would be sent to-night or early to-morrow morning. Mr. Atwater will of course be able to leave town on Friday, and embark on Saturday with a copy of it.

“ I have been told, since the arrival of the last British packet, (but do not believe it), that there is more probability than I had anticipated, that the late events in Spain and Portugal, (which ought not to be considered as deciding any thing), will have an effect on public opinion in America against the continuance of the embargo, and favourable to all the purposes of Great Britain. If this were true, I should think it was deeply to be lamented. I may misunderstand the subject; but I cannot persuade myself that any thing that has happened on this side the Atlantic

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ought to induce us, in any degree, to retreat from our present system. If we should resolve to trade with Spain and Portugal, (Great Britain and France persisting in their orders and decrees), in any way to which Great Britain would not object, we must suspend the embargo as to those countries only, or as to those countries and *Great Britain*, or we must repeal it altogether. The temptation to the first of these courses is, even in a commercial sense, inconsiderable; the objection to it endless. The object to be gained (if no more was gained than ought to be gained) would be trifling. There could indeed be no gain. An inadequate market, redundantly supplied, would be more injurious than no market at all; it would be a lure to destruction and nothing more. A suspension of the embargo so limited in its nature as this would be, (supposing it could be in fact what it could be in form), would have a most unequal and invidious operation in the different quarters of the union, of which the various commodities would not in the ports of Portugal and Spain be in equal demand. A war with France would be inevitable—and such a war (so produced) from which we could not hope to derive either honour or advantage, would place us at the mercy of Great Britain, and on that account would, in the end, do more to cripple and humble us, than any disaster that could otherwise befall us. The actual state of

Spain and Portugal is, moreover, not to be relied upon. My first opinion on that subject remains. But even the most sanguine will admit, that there is great room to doubt. The Emperor of France is evidently collecting a mighty force for the reduction of Spain; and Portugal must share its fate. And even if that force should be destined (as some suppose) first to contend with Austria, the speedy subjugation of Spain is not the less certain. If France should succeed, Spain and Portugal would again fall under the British orders of November, as well as under the operation of the French decrees. Our cargoes would scarcely have found their way to the ocean in search of the boasted market, before they would be once more in a state of prohibition, and we should, in the mean time, have incurred the scandal of suffering an improvident thirst of gain to seduce us from our principles, into a dilemma presenting no alternative but loss, in all the senses of the word.

“ But it is not even certain, what Great Britain would herself finally say to such a partial suspension of the embargo. She would doubtless at *first* approve of it; but her ultimate course (especially if war between France and the United States were not the immediate consequence, or if the measure were eventually less beneficial to herself than might be supposed at the outset), ought not to be trusted. That she

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should approve at first, is hardly to be questioned ; and the considerations upon which she would do so, are precisely those which should dissuade us from it. Some of these are—the aid it would afford to her allies, as well as to her own troops co-operating with them, and its consequent tendency to destroy every thing like system in our conduct ; its tendency to embroil us with France ; its tendency to induce us, by overstocking a limited market, to make our commodities of no value ; to dissipate our capital ; to ruin our merchants without benefiting our agriculture ; to destroy our infant manufactures without benefiting our commerce ; its tendency to habituate us to a trammelled trade, and to fit us for acquiescence in a maritime despotism. But there are other reasons ; our trade with Spain and Portugal, while it lasted, would be a circuitous one with *Great Britain and her colonies*, for their benefit. Our productions would be carried, in the first instance, to Spain and Portugal ; would be brought there for British account, and would find their way to the West Indies, or enter here, as British convenience might require ; and thus, in effect, the embargo would be removed as to Great Britain, while it continued as to France, and we professed to continue it as to both. And if any profits should arise from this *sordid traffic*, they would become a fund, to enable us to import into the United States, directly or indirectly, the

manufactures of Great Britain, and thus relieve her in another way, while her orders would prevent us from receiving the commodities of her enemy. *It would be far better openly to take off the embargo as to Great Britain, than while affecting to continue it as to that power, to do what must rescue her completely (and that too without advantage to ourselves) from the pressure of it, at the same time that it would promote her views against France, in Portugal and in Spain.*

“As to withdrawing the embargo as to Great Britain, as well as Spain and Portugal, while the British orders are unrepealed, the objections to that course are just as strong *now* as they were *four months ago*. The change in Spain and Portugal (if it were even likely to last) cannot touch the principle of the embargo, as regards Great Britain, who re-asserts her orders of November, in the very explanations of the 4th July, under which we must trade with those countries, if we trade with them at all. If we include Great Britain in the suspension, and exclude France, we do now what we have declined to do before, for the sake of a delusive commerce, which may perish before it can be enjoyed, and cannot in any event be enjoyed with credit, with advantage, or even with safety. We take part at once with Great Britain against France, at a time the least suited that could be imagined to such a determination; at a time when it might be said

we were engaged in what before was attempted by us, generated by us, what was a permanent maritime pretence, to throw ourselves on the generosity of France, to induce us to join the Chesapeake, to leave us undressed, to reject an offer accepted with us, as it became a refusal. To repeal the embargo is preferable to a refusal, notwithstanding that we should be obliged to fight, unless we are strong at least, and we can (in its place). The result is a strong substitution.

* “This is a present non-interference, exactly the advantage. We refused to take the embargo as to the United States, a strong substitution.

we were emboldened by French reverses, to do what before we could not resolve upon, or even tempted by a prospect of a scanty profit, exaggerated by our avarice and impatience to forget what was due to consistency, to character, and permanent prosperity. We sanction, too, the maritime pretensions which insult and injure us; we throw ourselves, bound hand and foot, upon the generosity of a government that has hitherto refused us justice, and all this when the affair of the Chesapeake, and a host of other wrongs, are unredressed, and when Great Britain has just rejected an overture which she must have accepted with eagerness if her views were not such as it became us to suspect and guard against. To repeal the embargo altogether would be preferable to either of the other courses, but would notwithstanding be so fatal to us in all respects, that we should long feel the wound it would inflict, unless indeed some other expedient, * as strong at least and as efficacious in *all its bearings*, can (as I fear it cannot) be substituted in its place. War would seem to be the unavoidable result of such a step. If our commerce

* "This strong measure, equally efficacious, is the present non-intercourse, proposed by Mr. Giles. We see how exactly the advice of this supple minister has been followed. We refused to aid Spain and Portugal by taking off the embargo as to them, and we now adopt his recommendation of a strong substitute."

should not flourish in consequence of this measure, nothing would be gained by it but dishonour. And how it could be carried on to any valuable purpose it would be difficult to shew. If our commerce *should* flourish in spite of French and British edicts, and the miserable state of the world, in spite of war with France, if that should happen, it would, I doubt not, be assailed in some other form. The spirit of monopoly has seized the people and government of this country. We shall not, under any circumstances, be tolerated as rivals in navigation and trade; it is in vain to hope that Great Britain will voluntarily foster the naval means of the United States. All her prejudices, all her calculations are against it. Even as allies we should be subjects of jealousy. It would be endless to enumerate, in detail, the evils which would cling to us in this new career of vassalage and meanness, and tedious to pursue our backward course to the extinction of that very trade to which we had sacrificed every thing else.

“ On the other hand, if we persevere we must gain our purpose at last. By complying with the little policy of the moment, we shall be lost—by a great and systematic adherence to principle, we shall find the end to our difficulties. The embargo and the loss of our trade are deeply felt here, and will be felt with more severity every

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day—*The wheat harvest* * *is likely to be alarmingly short*, and the state of the continent will augment the evil. The discontents among their manufacturers are only quieted, for the moment, by temporary causes. Cotton is rising, and soon will be scarce. Unfavourable events on the continent will subdue the temper unfriendly to wisdom and justice, which now prevails here. But above all, the world will, I trust, be convinced that our firmness is not to be shaken. Our measures have not been without effect. They have not been *decisive*, because we have not been thought capable of persevering in self-denial, if that can be called self-denial, which is no more than prudent abstinence from destruction and dishonour.

“ I ought to mention that I have been told by a most respectable American merchant here, that large quantities of such woollen cloths as are prohibited by our non-importation act, have been and continue to be sent to Canada, with the view of being smuggled into the United States.

“ I need not tell you that I am induced to trouble you with my hasty reflections, because I

* “ That the public may judge of Mr. Pinckney's correctness and prejudices, we would observe, that flour or wheat does not exceed its average price in time of war in Great Britain. The truth is, this letter, if not written here, and sent out to be signed by Mr. Pinckney, was designed to forward the views of the president, as to keeping on the embargo.” Am. Ed.

think you stand in need of them. I give them merely because I believe that you are entitled to know the impressions which a public servant on this side of the water receives from a view of our situation. I have the honour to be with the sincerest attachment and respect, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

" WILLIAM PINCKNEY."

JAMES MONROE.

THIS gentleman is a native of Virginia, and between fifty and sixty years of age. He was educated at the college of Williamsburg, in that state; and bred to the law. It is said that his studies preparatory to that profession were directed by Mr. Jefferson; and, between these two gentlemen there has, till lately, existed the greatest attachment. Mr Monroe inherited, from his parents, but a very slender fortune; and it seemed necessary, if he would arrive at independence in this respect, that he should adhere to his professional avocations, and pursue them with assiduity: but he was destined to more brilliant, though less lucrative pursuits. He was early brought into public life, where his services, in a variety of employments, have met with the approbation of his fellow-citizens.

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He had scarcely attained the age of twenty-one when he was sent to Congress, which situation he afterwards resigned, for a commission in the army; but, going rather late into the military line, and after the period of rapid promotion had passed away, he rose only to the rank of colonel during the revolutionary contest. He is allowed to have served with honour and reputation; but we do not find any actions of great *eclât* in which his name appears.

Peace had no sooner put an end to this employment, then he returned to his former profession at the bar. But he was almost immediately delegated again to Congress; and his election to this body was annually repeated, nearly without an interval, during the space of ten years.

In 1794, Mr. Monroe was sent to France in quality of minister to that republic. Mr. Jay was, at the same time, sent to England, and was fortunate enough to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce, which soon restored a good understanding between the two countries. Mr. Monroe was not so successful in his negotiation; he had to deal with the most unjust, rapacious, and villainous set of people that ever disgraced the government of a civilized nation. The failure cannot, therefore, be attributed to any want of abilities on his part; but rather to the insolent vanity of the French government.

After a residence of two years at Paris, Mr.

Monroe was charged, by the federal administration with being too complaisant to the overbearing temper of the French directory, who was anxious to involve America in a war with England. He was consequently recalled with a high degree of censure. After demanding of the secretary of state a written declaration of the motives of his recal, he published his defence, which was, of course, well received by the republican party, of which he was a member; and who were then availing themselves of every opportunity to render the federalists unpopular.

Mr. Monroe was shortly after elected governor of Virginia, which office he filled by re-elections for three years, the longest period, according to the constitution of that state, that the same person can be eligible to that office, until after an interval of three other years. About the expiration of this term, Mr. Monroe was sent to join Mr. Livingston, the American minister at Paris, for the purpose of settling the differences between Spain and the United States, and negotiating for the purchase of Louisiana.

After accomplishing the objects of his mission, he repaired to England, as ambassador from the United States; and was afterwards joined by Mr. William Pinckney, who was sent to this country as joint commissioner, with Mr. Monroe, for the purpose of settling all differences between Great Britain and the United States, and to renew the

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The fate of the treaty, concluded by these gentlemen and his majesty's commissioners, is well known. The terms of it were far from being palatable to the British public; yet the treaty had no sooner arrived in America, than it was rejected by Mr. Jefferson, without consulting the senate. It, of course, returned to England unratified; which, though it had failed in settling our differences with the United States, immediately terminated the disputes that had arisen amongst ourselves, respecting the favourable terms granted to the Americans.

The rejection of this treaty by the president placed the American commissioners in rather an awkward predicament; and Mr. Monroe, in particular, experienced a singular coincidence of circumstances between this event and his recollection from Paris in 1796; with this difference, that he now had to enter the lists with his friend Jefferson, instead of the federalists. He returned to America in 1807, and immediately published a letter in defence of the treaty which he and Mr. Pinckney had signed, and in justification of their conduct. In doing this, he, of course, called in question the propriety of Mr. Jefferson's refusal to ratify it; in consequence of which, no great cordiality at present exists between these gentlemen.

When this treaty was rejected by Mr. Jefferson, and that by no means in the most respectful manner. The British people expressed very little displeasure at the circumstance; nor did they call in question the right of the president to refuse the ratification of what his ministers had signed; but no sooner does a similar event take place in this country, by the rejection of Mr. Erskine's treaty, than the Americans (the republican party at least) are all up in arms against us, and deny our government the very privilege which they claim for their president. Mr. Jefferson complained that the whole of his instructions had not been complied with, and that he could not obtain all the advantages he wanted: whereas our ministers assert, that Mr. Erskine went *beyond* his instructions, and conceded more than he was *authorized*. Upon what grounds, therefore, can the Americans claim the right of rejecting an *incomplete* treaty, and deny us the same right of rejecting one that is *unauthorized*?

On perusing the instructions forwarded by Mr. Canning, in his letter to Mr. Erskine, of the 23rd of January 1809, the propositions that are to be made to the American government relate only to *three* points:

First, That the American government, in the event of his majesty's *consenting* to withdraw the orders in council of January and November 1807, is prepared to withdraw *contemporaneously* on its

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part, the interdiction of its harbours to ships of war, and all non-intercourse, and non-importation acts, so far as respects Great Britain; leaving them in force with respect to France, and the powers which adopt or act under her decrees:

Secondly, That America is willing to renounce, during the present war, the pretension of carrying on in time of war, all trade with the enemy's colonies, from which she was excluded during peace:

Thirdly, That Great Britain, for the purpose of securing the operation of the embargo act, with respect to France and the powers acting under her decrees, shall be at liberty to capture all American vessels, that may be found attempting to trade with the ports of any of these powers; without which security, the raising the embargo, nominally, to Great Britain alone, would in fact, raise it to all the world.

"On these conditions," says Mr. Canning, "his majesty will consent to withdraw the orders in council of January and November 1807, so far as respects America; and upon receiving, through you (Mr. Erikine) a distinct and official recognition of the *three* abovementioned conditions on the part of the American government, his majesty will lose no time in sending to America, a minister fully empowered to consign them to a formal and regular treaty."

Such, and such only, are the points touched

upon by Mr. Canning, nor is there *one word* in the whole dispatch that authorizes, or even hints at, an adjustment of the Chesapeake affair; which it was, no doubt, the intention of his majesty's ministers, to leave to the care of the minister, whom they *intended* to appoint, with full powers to settle *all* disputes. But what are the proceedings of Mr. Erskine on the receipt of this dispatch? He immediately writes to Mr. Smith, the secretary of state, a letter that seems to have been dictated by a very different dispatch to that of the 23rd of January 1809, which has been published in this country, for the purpose of shewing the authority upon which he acted. In that letter, dated the 17th of April following, Mr. Erskine does not say a word respecting the three conditions upon which the orders of council will be withdrawn; but without any authority (unless he acted from instructions which have not yet been made known to the public) he offers, in the name of his majesty, "*honourable reparation for the aggression committed by a British naval officer in the attack of the United States frigate, Chesapeake;*" and further says, that in consequence of Congress having passed the non-intercourse act, his majesty is "*willing to restore the men forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, and if acceptable to the American government to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers on that occasion!*"

Such is the communication. After the receipt of the latter dispatch, the Chesapeake was very extra-ordinarily restored out of the hands of the men. On the 1st of June, 1809, sentenced to death. Now after the receipt of an offer as above, I believe that the fact, to save our own souls, we disclaim the war belonged to us; we trusted the flag, it is the deserters; and self as to the and refuses power to vouch itself in a party, and America did the recovered the government disclaim the officer, are

Such is the substance of Mr. Erskine's first communication to the American government after the receipt of Mr. Canning's letter, though the latter does not mention a word about the Chesapeake; and surely Mr. Erskine made a very extraordinary proposition, when he offered to restore the men who had been forcibly taken out of that frigate, for the whole *four* had been tried at Halifax, and proved to be *British* seamen. One of them was *hung* and the rest were sentenced to receive *five hundred lashes each*. Now after such a proceeding as this, to make such an offer as Mr. Erskine did, (and I cannot believe that he did it without authority), was, in fact, to surrender up the right of power over our own seamen. It was surely sufficient that we disclaimed the privilege of searching ships of war belonging to a neutral, because in so doing, we trusted to the *honour* of that power, whose flag, it is supposed, *would not be a refuge for deserters*; but when a nation so far forgets itself as to receive such people on board its ships, and refuses to deliver them up at the request of the power to whom they belong, such nation places itself in a state of hostility with the offended party, and must take the consequence. America did this; her frigate was attacked, and we recovered our seamen; but because our government disclaims the precipitate conduct of their officer, are they to deliver up their own subjects,

who were afterwards deliberately tried by a court-martial at Halifax and punished. If they had been American citizens, they ought to have been given up long ago, and a suitable recompense made to the sufferers. Their surrender should not have been the subject of a stipulated condition; the act should have been voluntary, and it would then have afforded a *proof* of our inclination to make "atonement for the insult and aggression," of which we had been guilty. But as they have been proved to be British seamen, and British citizens, what right has our government to deliver them up to the Americans? Is it because we have derived such important benefits from the *non-intercourse act*; an act which has deprived our merchants of several millions of exports; which has closed the door to our manufactures; and which possesses no other advantage, but the negative one of placing the enemy upon the same footing as ourselves in relation to the United States? In making such an ignominious proposition, either Mr. Erskine must have acted without authority, or if he had authority, his majesty's ministers could not have been aware of the important points which they were about to concede. Surely our cabinet-councils must have been in a very distracted state, when ministers offered to restore the *British seamen* taken from the Chesapeake frigate,

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after trying them by a court-martial ; hanging one man, and flogging the rest ! !

In reply to Mr. Erskine's letter of the 17th of April, Mr. Smith, the American secretary of state in a note of the same day, after repeating our ambassador's words, and dwelling, with much apparent satisfaction, upon "the atonement which his Britannic majesty is ready to make for the insult and aggression committed upon the United States' frigate ;" says, "But I have it in *express charge* from the president to state, while he forbears to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example ; nor the *less persuaded* that it would *best comport* with what is due from his Britannic majesty, to *his own honour*."

How any minister could receive, *officially*, such an insulting note, I am really astonished. It evidently *dictates* to his majesty that he ought to do more than he has done, though in Mr. Erskine's note, his majesty is made to express his sorrow and displeasure at the event ; and as a proof of which, he recalled the offending officer from an highly important and honourable command ; and offers to restore the seamen, and make a suitable provision for the sufferers. But Mr. Madison, or at least his secretary, does not consider the offer of our ministers as *sufficiently* humiliating ; and therefore, though he *forbears to insist*,

yet, nevertheless, he is of opinion, that his majesty *will not consult his own honour*, unless he punishes the offending officer in a more exemplary manner.

Hence, if our ministers had countenanced Mr. Erskine's proceedings, and the treaty had been ratified, our government would have been placed in an awkward dilemma. They would have been under the necessity of either punishing Admiral Berkely, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Madison, or have suffered a *severe stigma* to remain upon the *honour* of his majesty. Such an insulting, dictating spirit was never displayed towards us even in Mr. Jefferson's administration ; but *new ministers* must produce some *novelty* in their proceedings, and Mr. Smith, perhaps, conceived it necessary to display his *spirit* and *talents* at the commencement of his diplomatic career, in the most *popular style*, as Cobbett's friend, Bradford, would have said. I even think I hear the republican party extolling his letter to the skies, and pointing out the *spirited* passages which they conceive will bend the proud neck of John Bull. Yet, after all, they are justified in making us submit to their terms, if they find we are ready to cringe to them ; and if, to prevent America from joining France, we are willing to salute the *derrière* of their president, or even his secretary of state, we deserve the fate of the member of parliament, who, to gain the vote of a chimney-sweeper, made a low bow, and kissed

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his sooty hand. "I shall give my vote to the other candidate," says the sweep; "for any member of parliament that will condescend to kiss my hand, will not scruple to kiss the minister's ****."

Every sacrifice short of national degradation ought, however, to be made, in order to preserve the friendship of America. No paltry etiquette or punctilio should, for a moment, obstruct the path of negotiation; and national prejudice, which I must confess is already too strong against the people of the United States, should, if possible, be buried in oblivion; at all events, our negotiators ought not to have the least tincture of it. A treaty of amity and commerce might then, perhaps, be arranged upon fair and honourable grounds; without *an insolent dictation* on the one part, or *a degrading subserviency* on the other.

END OF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

CHAP. XLVII.

Commerce of the United States—Exports and Imports for 1807—Duties upon Imports at the principal Sea-port Towns—Salaries of the principal Officers of the Government—Names of the separate States belonging to the Federal Republic—Statistical particulars of each State in the American Union—General statistical View of the United States for a period of Twenty Years—Observations on the present Constitution of the United States—Mr. Hillhouse's Speech in the Senate in Support of his Propositions for amending the Constitution.

THE commerce of the United States, previous to the embargo, was in the most flourishing state, notwithstanding the depredations said to have been committed upon it by the belligerent powers of Europe, as will appear from the following official documents, laid before the house of representatives on the 29th February, 1808, by Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury.

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" Exports of the United States, from 1st. October 1806, to 1st October 1807."

The goods, wares, and merchandise of domestic growth, or manufacture. . . .	<i>Dols.</i> 48,699,592
Do. of foreign growth or manufacture	59,643,558
Total	<i>Dols.</i> 108,343,150

Recapitulation of the above.

The foreign goods are classed as follows :

1st. Articles free of duty by law	2,080,114
2nd. Do. liable to duty, and on re-exportation entitled to drawback	48,205,943
3rd. Do. liable to duty, but no drawback on re-exportation	9,357,501
	<i>Dols.</i> 59,643,558

N. B. The duties collected on the 3rd class are derived directly from the carrying trade, and amount to *Dols.* 1,393,877.

The articles of domestic growth or manufacture are arranged as follows :

1st. Produce of the sea	2,804,000
2nd. Do. of the forest	5,476,000
3rd. Do. of agriculture	37,832,000
4th. Do. of manufactures	2,409,000
5th. Do. uncertain	179,000
	<i>Dols.</i> 48,700,000

The following is a statement of the duties paid upon imports into the principal seaport towns of the United States, calculated upon an average of four years, ending March, 1805.

<i>Towns,</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
New York.	New York	12,862,020
Philadelphia.	Pennsylvania	7,777,965
Boston,	Massachusetts	6,408,400
Baltimore,	Maryland	3,861,963
Charleston,	South Carolina	3,031,639
Norfolk,	Virginia	1,761,673
Salem,	Massachusetts	1,034,498
Savannah,	Georgia	914,039
Providence	Rhode Island	781,556
Portland	Maine	545,265
Newhaven,	Connecticut	510,637
Wilmington,	North Carolina	319,110

Mr. Key, in his very able and masterly speech against the continuance of the embargo, stated, that of the exports of *domestic* produce of the United States, in 1807, amounting to 48,699,592 dollars, only 9,762,204 were exported to European ports *under the controul of France*, which had been since interdicted by the British orders in council; and that there consequently remained

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a surplus of 31,937,388 dollars of *American produce* which might yet be exported, if the embargo had not taken place : but war must have happened between France and America, a measure which Mr. Jefferson and his party wished to avoid.

The following list of salaries will clearly exhibit the economical system of government in the United States :

	<i>Dollars.</i>
The President, per annum	25,000
Vice President	10,000
Secretary of State	5,000
Secretary of the Treasury	5,000
Secretary of the War Department	4,500
Secretary of the Navy	4,500
Comptroller of the Treasury	3,500
Treasurer	3,000
Attorney-General	3,000
Auditor of the Treasury	3,000
Postmaster-General	3,000
Register of the Treasury	2,400
Accountant of the War Department	2,000
Do. of the Navy Department	2,000
Assistant Postmaster-General	1,700

Names of the separate States of the federal republic.

New England, or Northern States.	{	Vermont
		New Hampshire
		District of Maine, belonging to Massachusetts
		Massachusetts
		Rhode Island
		Connecticut
Middle States.	{	New York
		New Jersey
		Pennsylvania
		Delaware
		Ohio
		Michigan
Southern States.	{	Indiana territory
		Maryland
		Virginia
		Kentucky
		North Carolina
		South Carolina
Colony acquired by purchase	{	Georgia
		Tennessee
		Mississippi territory
		Louisiana

In the following account of each of the American States, it must be observed, that the mineral and vegetable productions, manufactures, and exports, are far more numerous than what are mentioned; the limits of each table allowing a

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Statistical

Length and breadth
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Chief towns ;
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Religion ; Com

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Principal rivers
Mountains ; V
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Exports ; lumber
Chief towns ;
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notice only of the chief productions and staple commodities of the country.

Statistical Particulars of each State in the American Union.

VERMONT.

Length and breadth ; 158 by 70 miles
Face of the country ; hilly and mountainous
Divisions ; twelve counties, nineteen towns
Principal rivers ; White, Black, La Moelle, Onion
Mountains ; Killington, Mansfield, Camel's rump
Mineral productions ; iron ore, lead, pipe-clay, marble
Vegetable do. ; wheat, rye, corn, flax, apples
Manufactures ; iron, hollow ware, pot-ashes, paper
Exports ; pot-ashes, provisions, horses, grain, lumber
Chief towns ; Bennington, Burlington, Windsor
Population of the State ; 200,000
Religion ; Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Length and breadth ; 168 by 90 miles
Face of the country ; mountainous
Divisions ; five counties, 214 towns and locations
Principal rivers ; Connecticut, Merrimack, Piscataqua
Mountains ; White, Monadnock, Moosehillock
Mineral productions ; copper, iron, black lead, alum
Vegetable do. ; wheat, corn, hemp, apples, pears
Manufactures ; iron, hats, snuff, chocolate, duck
Exports ; lumber, oil, flax seed, live stock, pot-ashes
Chief towns ; Portsmouth, Concord, Exeter, Amherst
Population of the State ; 225,000
Religion ; Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists.

MAINE.

Length and breadth ; 200 by 200 miles
 Face of the country ; highlands and plains
 Divisions ; six counties, fifty towns
 Principal rivers ; Penobscot, Kennebeck, Androscoggin
 Mountains ; high lands
 Mineral productions ; mountain and bog ore, copperas, sulphur
 Vegetable do. ; hops, wheat, oats, spruce, fir, rockweed
 Manufactures ; clothing and other necessities of life
 Exports ; lumber, salt provisions, pot-ash
 Chief towns ; Portland, York, Wiscassett
 Population of the State ; 200,000
 Religion ; Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Length and breadth ; 190 by 90 miles
 Face of the country ; mountains and plains
 Divisions ; twelve counties, 279 towns
 Principal rivers ; Connecticut, Taunton, Merrimack
 Mountains ; Wachuset, Mount Toin, Saddleback
 Mineral productions ; copper, iron, black lead, pyrites, asbestos
 Vegetable do. ; wheat, rye, hemp, flax, apples, peaches, &c.
 Manufactures ; duck, paper, cards, cordage, ships, spirits, glass
 Exports ; lumber, fish, oil, provisions, live stock, cordage, &c.
 Chief towns ; Boston, Springfield, Worcester, Plymouth
 Population of the State ; 480,000
 Religion ; Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers.

RHODE ISLAND.

Length and breadth ; 47 by 37 miles
 Face of the country ; hills and plains
 Divisions ; five counties, thirty towns

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Principal rivers ; Providence, Taunton, Pawtucket
 Mountains ; Mount Hope, Misery, Whestone
 Mineral productions ; iron, copper, lime, marble
 Vegetable do. ; grass, corn, rye, fruits in plenty
 Manufactures ; cotton, linen and tow cloth, spirits
 Exports ; cattle, lumber, fish, provisions, flax seed
 Chief towns ; Newport, Providence, Kingston
 Population of the State ; 75,000
 Religion ; Baptists, Americans, Moravians, Jews.

CONNECTICUT.

Length and breadth ; 100 by 72 miles
 Face of the country ; mountains, hills, and valleys
 Divisions ; eight counties, 100 towns
 Principal rivers ; Connecticut, Housatonic, Thames
 Mountains ; Long, Great Craig, Hemlock
 Mineral productions ; iron, lead, copper, talcs, spetter
 Vegetable do. ; India corn, oats, rye, buckwheat, fruits, hemp
 Manufactures ; cotton, glass, gunpowder, hollow ware
 Exports ; cattle, lumber, provisions, hay
 Chief towns ; Hartford, Newhaven, New London
 Population of the State ; 270,000
 Religion ; Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists.

MIDDLE STATES

NEW YORK.

Length and breadth ; 350 by 300 miles
 Face of the country ; low and flat toward the sea, hilly in the interior
 Divisions ; thirty counties, 292 towns
 Principal rivers ; Hudson, Mohawk, Seneca, Genessee
 Mountains ; Kattskill, and part of the Allegany range

Mineral productions ; lead, iron and coal mines, spar, magnes
 Vegetable do. ; wheat, hemp, aspen, cedar, fruits
 Manufactures ; loaf sugar, glass, cutlery, iron, paper, furniture
 Exports ; every article of domestic and foreign produce
 Chief towns ; New York, Albany, Hudson, Fishkill
 Population of the State ; 800,000
 Religion ; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews.

NEW JERSEY.

Length and breadth ; 160 by 52 miles
 Face of the country ; flat, low, and marshy
 Divisions ; thirteen counties, ninety-four towns
 Principal rivers ; Hackensack, Raritan, and Passaic
 Mountains ; Neversink and Centre hills
 Mineral productions ; iron and coal mines, copper, lead
 Vegetable do. ; apples, pears, peaches, corn, barley, pines, fl
 Manufactures ; iron, flour, nails, leather
 Exports ; iron castings, hollow ware, nails, flour
 Chief towns ; Trenton, Burlington, Brunswick
 Population of the State ; 230,000
 Religion ; Presbyterians, Armenians, Baptists.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Length and breadth ; 298 by 156 miles
 Face of the country ; low and flat towards the sea, hilly in the
 interior
 Divisions ; 35 counties, 523 towns
 Principal rivers ; Delaware, Susquehannah, Alleghany
 Mountains ; Kittatinny, Tuscarora, Great Warrior
 Mineral productions ; iron, copper, coal mines
 Vegetable do. ; wheat, oats, flax, rye, fruits
 Manufactures ; iron, cabinet work, Glauber salts, muskets
 Exports ; flour, and other domestic and foreign produce
 Chief towns ; Philadelphia, Carlisle, Pittsburg

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Population of the State ; 650,000

Religion ; Presbyterians, Quakers, Jews, Moravians.

DELAWARE.

Length and breadth ; 92 by 24 miles

Face of the country ; low, swampy, and level

Divisions ; three counties, 24 towns

Mountains ; no mountains of any note

Mineral productions ; bog iron-ore, white clay, &c.

Vegetable ditto ; wheat, rye, oats, corn, flax, hemp, buckwheat

Manufactures ; flour, paper, snuff, cotton

Exports ; wheat, flour, lumber, snuff

Chief towns ; Wilmington, Dover, Lewis

Population of the State ; 70,000

Religion ; Presbyterians, Quakers, Episcopalians.

OHIO.

Length and breadth ; 220 by 200 miles

Face of the country ; hills and plains

Divisions ; counties and towns

Principal rivers ; Muskingum, Scioto, Great Miami

Mountains ; hilly but not mountainous

Mineral productions ; iron ore, lead, coal, free-stone, white clay

Vegetable ditto ; wheat, hemp, flax, corn, grapes, &c.

Manufactures ; flour, clothing, and other necessities

Exports ; flour, corn, wheat, provisions

Chief towns ; Chillicothe, Cincinnati, Marietta

Population of the State ; 45,000

Religion ; Presbyterians, Baptists, Armenians.

MICHIGAN.

Length and breadth ; 240 by 120 miles
 Face of the country ; hills and plains
 Divisions ; counties and towns
 Principal rivers ; Mariamne, Grand, Huron
 Mountains ; hilly land, which runs north and south
 Mineral productions ; lead, coal mines, salt springs
 Vegetable ditto ; corn, wheat, hemp, grapes, hickory
 Manufactures ; flour, clothing, and articles of domestic use
 Exports ; corn, flour, salt provisions
 Chief town ; Detroit
 Population of the State ; 35,000
 Religion ; Congregationalists, Moravians, Armenians.

INDIANA TERRITORY.

Length and breadth ; 345 by 300 miles
 Face of the country ; hills and plains
 Divisions ; counties and towns
 Principal rivers ; Wabash Kaskaskia, Illinois
 Mountains ; Illinois and Wabash Hills
 Mineral productions ; silver, lead, iron, coal, marble, salt
 Vegetable do. ; wheat, corn, rye, hemp, flax, custard apple-trees
 Manufactures ; flour, clothing, and domestic necessities
 Exports ; wheat, flour, corn, salt provisions
 Chief towns ; Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Clarkesville
 Population of the State ; 40,000
 Religion ; Armenians, Mennonists, Methodists.


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SOUTHERN STATES.

MARYLAND.

Length and breadth ; 134 by 110 miles
Face of the country ; hills and plains
Divisions ; 19 counties and towns
Principal rivers ; Chesapeake, Potowmack, Patapsco
Mountains ; blue ridge in the western part of the state
Mineral productions ; iron ore and coal mines
Vegetable ditto ; wheat, tobacco, hemp, flax, fruit
Manufactures ; iron, hollow ware, flour, tobacco
Exports ; pork, flour, tobacco, hemp, fruit, iron
Chief towns ; Baltimore, Annapolis, Georgetown
Population of the State ; 70,000
Religion ; Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Quakers, &c.



VIRGINIA.

Length and breadth ; 448 by 224 miles
Face of the country ; flat and low towards the coast, mountainous behind
Divisions ; 122 towns and counties
Principal rivers ; Potowmack, Tappahannock, James
Mountains ; Blue Ridge, Laurel, Allegany
Mineral productions ; lead, copper, iron, coal, black lead, marble
Vegetable do. ; tobacco, cotton, wheat, hemp, corn
Manufactures ; lead and iron works, copper, some cloth
Exports ; tobacco is the chief article of export
Chief towns ; Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg
Population of the State ; 950,000
Religion ; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists.

KENTUCKY.

Length and breadth ; 250 by 200 miles
 Face of the country ; hills and plains
 Divisions ; 42 counties and towns
 Principal rivers ; Ohio, Licking, Kentucky, Green
 Mountains ; none of any particular note
 Mineral productions ; saltpetre, iron, lead, limestone ;
 Vegetable do. ; corn, hemp, wheat, coffee, pawpaw trees, &c.
 Manufactures ; flour, gunpowder, cordage, iron, ships, whiskey
 Exports ; provisions, &c. conveyed down the Ohio to New Orleans
 Chief towns ; Frankfort, Lexington, Louisville
 Population of the State ; 350,000
 Religion ; Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Length and breadth ; 450 by 180 miles
 Face of the country ; flat towards the coast, mountainous in the back country
 Divisions ; three districts, 60 counties
 Principal rivers ; Roanoke, Pamlico, Neuse
 Mountains ; Apalachian, Allegany, Tryon
 Mineral productions ; iron, coal ; gold has recently been found
 Vegetable do. ; wheat, cotton, hemp, corn, rice, tobacco
 Manufactures ; paper, pitch, tar, oil, iron
 Exports ; lumber, naval stores, tobacco, wheat, corn
 Chief towns ; Raleigh, Newbern, Edenton
 Population of the State 520,000
 Religion ; Congregationalists, Baptists, Mennonists.

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SOUTH CAROLINA.

Length and breadth ; 270 by 250 miles
Face of the country ; generally flat, low, and sandy
Divisions ; nine districts, 20 parishes, 23 counties
Principal rivers ; Edisto, Santee, Pedee
Mountains ; Apalachia, Tryon, Hogback, at the extremity of
the state
Mineral productions ; gold, lead, silver, copper, carnelion
Vegetable do. ; pines, oak, hickory, cotton, rice, indigo, corn
Manufactures ; pitch, tar, &c. iron, cotton and woollen clothing
Exports ; cotton and rice are the staple commodities
Chief towns ; Charleston, Columbia, Camden
Population of the State ; 450,000
Religion ; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists.

GEORGIA.

Length and breadth ; 350 by 250 miles
Face of the country ; level and flat, upwards of 120 miles
from the coast
Divisions ; 24 counties, 129 towns and districts
Principal rivers ; Savannah, Apalachicola, Altamaha
Mountains ; a part of the Apalachian and Allegany ridge
Mineral productions ; silver, lead, copper, &c.
Vegetable do. ; pine, cedar, palmetto, oak, cotton, rice, indigo
Manufactures ; pitch, tar, &c. leather, cotton and woollen
clothing
Exports ; rice, cotton, tobacco, indigo, naval stores
Chief towns ; Savannah, Augusta, Louisville, St. Mary's
Population of the State ; 220,000
Religion ; Presbyterians, Methodists, Jews, Baptists.

TENNESSEE.

Length and breadth ; 442 by 104 miles
 Face of the country ; mountains and plains
 Divisions ; three districts, 18 counties
 Principal rivers ; Tennessee, Cumberland, Holston
 Mountains ; Cumberland, Clinch and Bald mountains
 Mineral productions ; saltpetre, iron, ochre, copperas, &c.
 Vegetable do. ; cotton, tobacco, coffee, hemp, corn, indigo
 Manufactures ; flour, cotton and woollen cloths, iron, &c.
 Exports ; domestic produce, furs, ginseng, cattle
 Chief towns ; Knoxville, Nashville, Jonesborough
 Population of the State, 150,000
 Religion ; Presbyterians, Baptists, Tunkers, Methodists.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

Length and breadth ; 380 by 250 miles
 Face of the country ; mountains and plains
 Divisions ; three counties and towns
 Principal rivers ; Mississippi, Yazoo, Tombigbee
 Mountains ; Allegany range
 Mineral productions ; gold, silver, lead, copper, precious stones
 Vegetable do. ; most of the tropical fruits, rice, cotton, indigo
 Manufactures ; flour, provisions, and domestic necessities
 Exports ; flour, provisions, furs, rice, cotton, indigo
 Chief town ; Natchez
 Population of the State ; 12,000
 Religion ; in a fluctuating state.

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LOUISIANA.

Length and breadth ; 1,400 by 1,000 miles

Face of the country; level and flat, with vast prairies, or meadows

Divisions ; towns, villages, and parishes

Principal rivers ; Mississippi, Missouri, Mobile

Mountains ; none of any consequence

Mineral productions ; saltpetre, salt-springs, lead, iron, copper

Vegetable do.; oak, pine, cedar, fruits, sugar, cotton, furs

Manufactures ; cotton mills, sugarbakers, negro clothing

Exports ; sugar, cotton, indigo, lead, lumber, tobacco

Chief town ; New Orleans

Population of the State ; 60,000

Religion; Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Jews.

*General Statistical View of the United States for a
Period of 20 Years.*

Collected chiefly from Official Documents.

Enumeration.	Number and Value in 1788.	Number and Value in 1808.	Increase in twenty Years.
Num. of states in the union	13	21	8
Square acres - -	283,800,000	600,000,000	316,200,000
Acres of land in cultivation	1,210,500	2,390,400	1,179,900
Average price of land, } per acre - - - }	2 dollars	6 dollars	4 dollars
Populat. { Whites and free peo- } { ple of colour - - }	2,500,000	5,430,000	2,930,000
{ Slaves - - - }	700,000	1,070,000	370,000
Total population - -	3,200,000	6,500,000	3,300,000
Effective militia - -	450,000	930,000	480,000
Regular army - - -	—	2,000	2,000
Naval force - - -	—	10 frigates, } 81 sloops & } gunboats. }	91 vessels
Dwelling houses - -	640,000	1,225,000	585,000
Horses - - -	600,000	1,200,000	600,000
Horned cattle - -	1,200,000	2,950,000	1,750,000
Post-offices - - -	400	1843	1443
Revenues of general do.	12,000 <i>l</i> .	68,850 <i>l</i> .	56,850 <i>l</i> .
Expenses of do. - -	11,000 <i>l</i> .	58,500 <i>l</i> .	47,500 <i>l</i> .
Newspapers - - -	80	350	270
The post extends in miles	5,000	33,000	28,000
Tonnage of merchant } vessels - - - }	250,000	1,207,000	957,000
Value of imports in sterling	2,475,000 <i>l</i> .	22,000,000 <i>l</i> .	19,525,000 <i>l</i> .
Exports { Domestic pro-	2,025,000 <i>l</i> .	10,957,408 <i>l</i> .	8,932,408 <i>l</i> .
in Sterl. { Foreign goods	225,000 <i>l</i> .	13,419,800 <i>l</i> .	13,194,800 <i>l</i> .
Money. { Total - - - }	2,250,000 <i>l</i> .	24,377,208 <i>l</i> .	22,127,208 <i>l</i> .
Annual revenue - -	1,800,000 <i>l</i> .	4,000,000 <i>l</i> .	2,200,000 <i>l</i> .
Specie in circulation -	2,250,000 <i>l</i> .	3,800,000 <i>l</i> .	1,550,000 <i>l</i> .
National debt - - -	16,500,000 <i>l</i> .	15,238,700 <i>l</i> .	Decrease } 1,261,300 <i>l</i> . }

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The present constitution of the United States, though as well adapted to insure freedom and happiness to the people as any government in the world, yet is not without its imperfections. It is allowed, that the President possesses prerogatives and powers in many respects equal, in some exceeding, in practice, those exercised by the King of Great Britain. This, with the prolongation of the four years' Presidency, which perhaps might in time degenerate into an inheritance for life, would offer a great inducement to an ambitious man, to overturn the liberties of his country, and create, in his own family, a monarchical dynasty for the American government. Such an event is by no means improbable, when once a man has insured to himself the command of the forces, and the approbation of a large majority of the people. We have already seen, in the conduct of Aaron Burr, that ambitious usurpers would not be confined to France, if their means were adequate to their artful designs; and though the United States have, for the present, escaped having *Aaron the First* for their King, yet if such rebellions are not provided against, a few years may deprive them of their *republican* form of government.

In the hands of a Washington, the extraordinary powers of the Executive would be employed only for the public good; but that great and virtuous character, has left few like himself to

fill the presidential chair. At present the President of the United States is more the chief of a party, than the unbiassed governor of a large empire. The present mode of election is also too much open to domestic intrigue and foreign influence. To annihilate party spirit, and to unite the people in favour of the constitution, and not in favour of this or that man, is therefore the great desideratum of the American government.

In order to accomplish these important objects, Mr. Hillhouse, in a very able speech, submitted to the senate on the 12th of April, 1808, sundry propositions for amending the constitution of the United States, to commence in 1813. As the speech is of considerable length, I should not have trespassed on the patience of my readers, by laying it before them, had not the importance of the subject, and the light which it throws on the present form of government in the United States, rendered it worthy of attentive perusal. It may also prove interesting to many of our English politicians, who are apt to compare the merits of the English government with that of America; and who are of opinion that a reform in the representative system, as well as in various departments of the state, are at this moment imperiously necessary.

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PROPOSITIONS

For amending the Constitution of the United States, submitted by Mr. Hillhouse to the Senate, on the 12th of April, 1808, with his explanatory remarks.

BEING about to offer a resolution proposing sundry important amendments to the constitution of the United States, I must ask the patience and attention of the senate to some preliminary remarks, to explain their tendency and object.

The situation of the United States, at the time of the meeting of the convention for forming the constitution, I well remember ; and it will be recollected by every member of this senate, to have been such, as to excite the anxious solicitude of every considerate man in our country. External pressure being removed, the recommendations of congress had ceased to have effect on the States. We were a nation without *credit* and without *resources*, or rather without the means of drawing them forth. Local policy began to operate in a manner that tended to excite jealousy and discontent among the States ; and there was reason to fear that we were exposed, and at no remote period, to all the calamities of civil war. Under these circumstances, the present constitution was promulgated, and was eagerly seized on by the

great body of the people, as the *palladium* of our liberties, and the *bond* of our union. I was of the number of those who approved it, though some parts of it appeared to me mere *theories* in the science of government, which I hoped, in the experiment, would prove salutary ; but my expectations were not sanguine.

It has been with anxious concern that I have seen a disposition, and various attempts to make *partial* amendments to the constitution, which have, in some instances prevailed. Others are in progress. All are aimed at *particular detached parts*, which, without examining or regarding their bearing on *other parts*, like partial alterations in a curious complicated machine, may, instead of benefiting, destroy its utility.

Some gentlemen have expressed their regret for having voted for amendments already adopted. Other amendments are on your table, and coming from such high authority as to demand serious attention. From the alarm and jealousy excited in the public mind, there is danger of other *partial* amendments still more injurious. Believing as I do, that amendments, and important ones too, are necessary, which materially affect the office of president, and the power of the two houses of congress, and without which our country will be exposed to incalculable evils ; under these impressions, and to attempt a radical cure, I am in-

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duced to come forward, at this time, with my amendments.

Before I proceed with my explanatory remarks, I must take the liberty of stating, that in using the terms monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, I do not use them as the cant words of party—I use them in their fair genuine sense. The terms federalist and republican I do not use by way of *commendation* or *reproach*, but merely by way of description, as the first names of individuals, to distinguish them from others of the same family name.

Federalists and republicans never divided upon the elementary principles of government. There are very few Americans who are not, in principle, attached to a free republican government; though they may differ on minor points, and about the best mode of organizing it. Persons attached to monarchy and aristocracy are few indeed; they are but as the dust in the balance. No one in his sober senses can believe it practicable, or politic if practicable, to introduce either. If ever introduced, which God forbid, it must be done at the point of the bayonet.

It is well known that the denomination of the parties called federalists and republicans were applied, the former to those who supported, the latter to those who opposed, the two first administrations, formed under the federal constitution: Those who opposed those administrations, wishing

to obtain the governing power, and disliking the name of anti-federalists, given to the first opposers of the constitution, assumed the more popular name of *republicans*. It cannot be expected that a politician, when he has made himself up for a political ball or masquerade, will exhibit his true character. Many of the most florid speeches are made, more with an eye to the people, than to the body to which they are addressed. To find the true character of man, you must look to his *homespun, every day dress*; if you do this, you will find a full proportion of good republicans, as they are called, who exhibit no more of that virtue called *humility* than their neighbours, and who manifest no greater regard for *equal rights*? The supposed differences are more imaginary than real. Names may, and sometimes do, deceive ignorant, uninformed individuals; but these names now scarcely do that.

As the amendments I shall propose, are not to commence their operation until the 4th of March, 1813, which is beyond the term of service of any one now in office, they cannot be considered as having any personal application; and I assure this senate that I do not intend, by any thing I shall say, any *personal* or *party* allusion. As I am about to tread on delicate ground, and do not wish to give offence, I thought it incumbent on me to make these explanations.

Some of the important features of our consti-

tution were very well suited to the constitution and monarchy, and democracy and each other. requisite of the first branches of the monarch shall be the source of the PEOPLE are

We have extensive capabilities nor an aristocratic barrier between and the spirit of the senate depends are constrained by the idea of insurrection of the government and accumulated hands of the

Two evils of government, and such as the ambition and the most aspect to assume the of obtaining have obtained

tution were borrowed from a model, which did not very well suit our condition : I mean the constitution and government of England, a mixed monarchy, in which, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy are so combined as to form a check on each other. One important and indispensable requisite of such a government, is, that the two first branches should be hereditary, and that the monarch should be the fountain of honour and the source of power. In the United States, the PEOPLE are the source of *all power*.

We have not the materials for forming an executive capable of wielding royal prerogatives; nor an aristocratic senate, which could form a barrier between the exercise of such prerogatives and the spirit of democracy. The president and senate depending for office on a popular election, are constrained to regard popular opinion. The idea of insuring an *energetic* and fair administration of the government, by increasing *patronage*, and accumulating *power* and *prerogatives* in the hands of the president, is visionary.

Two evils to be guarded against in a republican government, (such as is that of the United States, and such as I hope and trust it ever will be) are *ambition* and *favouritism*. The former induces the most aspiring, artful and unprincipled men, to assume the garb of *patriotism*, for the purpose of obtaining office and power; and when they have obtained it, they extend their patronage and

favour to those who have been most active and instrumental in procuring their elevation.

There is no position more generally admitted to be true, than that MAN is fond of POWER. When ambition is alive, and competitors for office take the field, those means which promise *success* will be resorted to. None are more powerful, or can be used to greater effect, than the gift of lucrative and important offices; and none will be more zealous and indefatigable in their exertions than expectants of such offices. A golden eagle will bribe but one man; but one office may operate as a bribe to one hundred expectants. A man who would spurn at a direct offer of money, may be induced to believe he may accept an office without dishonour. To an ambitious man, how great must be the self-denial, that would not permit him to use such powerful means to obtain an election, which alone can raise him to the most dignified office in the nation?

Placing in the hands of a chief magistrate who depends on a popular election, prerogatives and powers in many respects equal, in some exceeding in *practice*, those exercised by the king of Great Britain, is one of the errors of the constitution. This error can be corrected only in one or two ways: either the office must be stripped of those high prerogatives and powers, and the term of holding the office shortened; or some other mode devised, than a *popular election*, for appointing a

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president: otherwise our country must perpetually groan under the scourge of party rage and violence, and be continually exposed to that worst of all calamities, *civil war*.

The president of the United States is Commander-in-chief of the army and navy; and, when called into actual service, of all the militia of the nation, he has the sole power of nominating to offices; and *exercises* the power, at his will and pleasure of removing from office. He has a qualified negative on all laws. He has the sole power of directing the diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, and of forming treaties; which, though he cannot ratify, he may reject, without the approbation of the senate. He has the power of granting pardons for all offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. He is intrusted with the execution of all laws, and grants commissions to all officers. These are some of the powers and prerogatives vested by the constitution in the president; others will be found by a careful perusal of it. Can these great powers and high prerogatives be more *safely* trusted in the hands of the president, who may be an aspiring man, and may have friends and favourites about him, anxious for office, than with the immediate representatives of the people, and the senate representing the sovereignty of the states?

I may be told, and I admit, that it is easier to

point out defects in the constitution, than to propose remedies: on this point I feel the difficulty; I feel great diffidence. The magnitude of the subject presents to my mind embarrassments hard to be surmounted; and nothing could have induced me to hazard my amendments, but a sense of duty enjoined by my official situation, and a distressing apprehension of the danger to which we are exposed. I shall not shrink from the task of proposing a remedy, and attempting to avert the impending danger.

I am aware I am engaged in a difficult undertaking. I have to oppose deep-rooted prejudices and long established opinions, which will be abandoned with reluctance. I have to contradict favourite theories, long ago adopted, and still strenuously maintained. It is, therefore, to be expected, that arguments which go to destroy the former, or contradict the latter, will be admitted with caution, and listened to with a reluctant ear. Some of the amendments, when first presented to my mind, made but a slight impression, and I was disposed to pass them by as impracticable or ineffectual: but experience and mature reflection have satisfied me both of their correctness and importance.

I am aware that the amendments will not be *approved* by many individuals in this nation, under an apprehension of their tending to lower the *tone* and *energy* of the government. They

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will be *denounced* by all *office-hunters*, *demagogues* and men of *inordinate ambition*, more anxious for their own elevation to office than for the public good. All *artful* men, who rely more on their dexterity and skill in *intrigue*, than upon *honest merit*, to secure an election, will raise their voices, and cry aloud against them. They will describe them as *Utopian* and *visionary*; as departing from the *elective principle*; and as lowering the dignity and character of the government. But the great body of the people who compose that portion of the community, which can have no view of interests incompatible with the *general welfare*; which can have no other wish or desire than to see the nation *prosper*; and which the feelings of nature would stimulate to do what would advance the prosperity and happiness of future generations, will, I flatter myself, lend a listening ear, and grant me a candid and patient hearing. I must also be permitted to indulge the hope, that in this honourable body, the amendments will not be hastily rejected; nor until they shall have undergone an attentive and critical examination.

A prominent feature of the amendments is, to shorten the terms of service of the president, senators and representatives: observation and experience having convinced me, that in an elective government, *long terms of office* and *high compensations*, do not tend to make independent pub-

lic servants, while they produce an anxious solicitude in the incumbents to keep their places; and render seekers of office more eager to obtain them, and more regardless of the means.

It is a sound position, that in a republican government like ours, the **PUBLIC WILL**, that is, the sentiment of the majority, when fairly and fully ascertained, should *prevail*: it will, in most cases, comport with the public good. Opinions produced by a sudden impulse of passion, by a feverish unnatural excitement, or by the intrigues of artful designing men, are those against which it is necessary to provide. The idea of tying up the hands of the people, who in fact possess the whole power, to prevent the *execution* of that *public will*, is chimerical; there are no cords strong enough to hold them. The most effectual, and indeed the only effectual guard against popular passion and jealousy is, to let the people see, clearly and distinctly, that there always exists an opportunity for a fair expression and execution of the *public will*, and that they are in no danger from *abuse* of power; seeing their public functionaries are obliged frequently to resort to them for a renewal of their authority to exercise their power. No man's jealousy or fears can be excited, respecting the exercise of a power which he clearly sees to be subject to his own controul. What excites alarm among the people is, an accumulation of power in the hands of an indivi-

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dual, or of a small body of men; which, added to long duration in office, and high salaries, they believe may endanger their liberties. To this poison frequent elections are a complete antidote. *Here* the people see and understand that there is perfect security! and when an attempt is made to excite their fears, or alarm their jealousy, they will ask, what possible danger can there be? have we not the *power* in our own hands? and must not these public functionaries, at short intervals, resort to us for power to act at all? A popular flame cannot be kept alive where there is no fuel to feed it.

My First Amendment goes to reduce the term of service of the members of the house of representatives to one year.

No inconvenience can arise from this arrangement; because there is a constitutional provision that congress shall assemble once in every year. That body, composed of the immediate representatives of the people, ought to exhibit a fair representation of *their sentiments* and *will*: and coming fresh from the people to the congress of each year, will, it may be presumed, fairly express such *sentiments* and *will*. And if, in an interval from one session of congress to another, there be a real change of public sentiment, why should not that change be expressed? Will an attempt in their representatives to resist it, tend to tranquillize the public mind? or will it not,

like persecution in religion, tend to make proselytes to their sentiments? Constitutions, except so far as they are necessary to organize the several departments of government, and bring the public functionaries into a situation to *deliberate* and *act*; and in the general government to draw the line of demarcation between that and the state governments, to prevent interference and collision, are of little avail; and present but feeble barriers against the *public will*. Whenever a measure is understood, and believed to be necessary, to promote the general welfare, the people will not fail to effect it. If they cannot, by construction, get round the constitution, they will, by an amendment, go directly to their object. Of the truth of this, experience has furnished ample proof. The danger is, that by attempting to extend constitutional restrictions too far, unnatural and mischievous exertions of power may be produced.

By the Second Amendment, the term of service of the senators is to be reduced to three years; one-third to be chosen each year.

The senate, I am aware, may be surprized, and perhaps feel some displeasure, that one of their own body should propose an amendment, which, in the estimation of some, may tend to lessen their dignity, and destroy their independence. Did I believe this, I should be the last to offer it. If

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the senate will hear me patiently, I think I can show that it will produce no such effect.

In the affairs of government, *theories* are more deceptive than in any other of our concerns. Matters of *fact* and *experience* alone can safely be relied on. That the six years' term of service of senators does not tend to permanency, the two houses of congress furnish a striking example. In the senate greater changes have taken place than in the other house, in which I see many members with whom I had the honour to serve, previous to my being elected a senator. In this body there is not a single person who was a member when I first took my seat ; and but one who had before been a member. Half the present senate have been taken from the house of representatives ; where, from having been submitted to the frequent choice of the people, they had acquired their confidence. The same observation holds good also in state legislatures, where the shorter the term of service, the more uniformly and steadily have the same members been returned. In defiance of all *theories*, this is the *fact*. To me the reason is obvious. "The oftener a representative is returned to his constituents, and is by them re-elected, the obligation of duty on his part is increased, and their confidence strengthened." As in private life, a frequent interchange of kind offices begets attachment and friendship, so the shorter the term of service, the

less the inducement to individual exertion to obtain the place ; and the people will be left to a more *free* and *uninfluenced* exercise of the right of suffrage. It is an axiom not to be questioned, that the people, left to a *free unbiassed* exercise of the right of suffrage, will, in most instances, make a judicious and wise choice. They can have no interest or inducement to do otherwise. When they have found a good man, *capable* and *faithful*, they will, if left to themselves, be inclined to continue him in the public service, so long as he shall continue to be capable and faithful.

Senators represent the rights and interests of states in respect to their sovereignty. In them, therefore, the states ought to feel a *confidence*. And this confidence will rather be increased than lessened by shortening the term of service to three years. Shall I be told that the legislatures of the states are not to be relied on for their *stability* and *patriotism* ? That it would be unsafe, every third year, to trust them with the appointment of their senators. No ; surely. The several states are *pillars* on which the constitution of the United States *rests*, and *must rest*. If these pillars are not sound ; if they are composed of feeble, frail materials, then must the general government moulder into *ruin*. This, however, is not my belief. I have confidence in the state governments. I am for keeping them in their *full vigour*

and *strengthened* general government, respecting the citizen and the state. I have the measures which will consolidate the Union.

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and *strength*: for if any disaster befalls the general government, the states having, within their respective spheres, all the power of independent governments, will be the arks of safety to which the citizens can flee for protection from *anarchy*, and the horrid evils which follow in his train. I have therefore uniformly been opposed to measures which had the remotest tendency to their CONSOLIDATION.

When I shall have stated my next amendment, it will be found that my plan, instead of lessening the dignity and importance of senators, will magnify their office, and make it the object of desire and laudable ambition to the best characters and greatest talents of our country: for, from the senate, I propose that the President of the United States shall always be taken; and in a manner that will exclude all *cabal* and *undue influence* in obtaining that high office—a mode in which the man of modest merit shall have an equal chance of success with the most daring and artful intriguer.

The Third Amendment provides for the appointment of a President. He is to be taken by lot from the senate, and is to hold his office for one year.

This mode promises many advantages, and only two objections against it present themselves to my mind: one, that it is a departure from the *elective principle*; the other, that it will not al-

ways insure the best talents. I should not have proposed this mode, if any other could have been devised, which would not convulse the whole body politic, set wide open the door to *intrigue* and *cabal*, and bring upon the nation incalculable evils; evils already felt, and growing more and more serious. Upon mature examination, those objections appear less formidable than at first view.

When senators shall be chosen with an eye to this provision, every state will be anxious to make such a selection of persons as will not disgrace it in the eventful elevation of one of them to the presidential chair. Every state legislature would, in choice of a senator, consider itself as nominating a candidate for the presidency. The effect of this arrangement would be, in reality, that instead of the states appointing electors to choose a president, the legislatures themselves would become the electors; with this advantage, that the nomination would be made when not under the influence of a presidential electioneering fever. In the regular course of appointing senators, only one nomination would be made at one time in each state; and in most cases, three years would elapse before he could be designated for the presidency. The great caution in the selection of senators, with a reference to that high office, would produce another excellent effect: it would insure the continuance, in that body, of men of

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the most respectable talents and character : an object of the highest importance to the general welfare. In the mode directed by the constitution for choosing a president by the house of representatives, there is almost as great a departure, as in what I propose, from the *pure elective principle*; which requires perfect freedom of choice among all who are eligible ; and that the ballot of each qualified voter shall have equal weight in making such choice ; whereas, by the constitution, the house are confined to three candidates, and must vote by states ; so that a state having twenty-two members has but one vote ; and consequently no more weight than a state having only a single member ; and those states whose members shall be equally divided, will have no vote. These circumstances considered, the present constitutional mode of choosing a president by the house of representatives, when tested by the *pure elective principle*, may be deemed, as to the mode of choosing and the object of the choice, as exceptionable as the appointment by lot ; while it remains liable to all the evils of a contested election, from which the appointment by lot is wholly free.

In answer to the second objection, it may be fairly presumed, that the senate will always be composed of men possessed at least of decent talents. And such men, with honest views, long experience, and the aid of the heads of departments and other officers, would be able to do

public business correctly. It is not necessary, it is not desirable, that the president should command the armies in person; and all our foreign relations may be managed through the agency of able ministers, whose appointments are to be approved both by the senate and house of representatives. The several executives, ever since the adoption of the constitution, have been in the habit of calling to their aid a cabinet council, composed of the heads of departments; who ought to consist, as they properly will, of men of talents, integrity, and experience; and who, upon the plan proposed, being likely to continue long in office. will thereby give stability and system to the measures of government.

The affairs of almost all governments have been managed by ministers subordinate to the chief magistrates. To this rule, Alexander the Great, of ancient times, and of late the Great Frederick of Prussia, and the Emperor Napoleon, furnish exceptions. Here let me ask, have the rights of individuals, or the liberties of mankind been more safe; or, have public affairs been conducted in a manner more promotive of the happiness of the people, when such mighty monarchs have swayed the sceptre, than when the chief magistrate has possessed only moderate talents? Let history and our own observation decide.

If the appointment by lot will not always insure a president of the first rate talents, neither

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will the present mode of electing: for when party spirit runs high, and parties are nearly balanced, candidates will be set up, not for their talents, but because they are *popular* and can *command votes*. And there may be a possibility of having a president for *four years*, distinguished neither for talents nor integrity. A president appointed by lot, will possess the advantage, and in practice it will be found a very great advantage, of coming into office free from *party influence*; which, under the present mode of electing, is seldom if ever to be expected; and it is to be feared that it will be too powerful to suffer even an honest man to do right.

Our's is intended to be a government of *laws*; the only kind of government, under which a country can be said to be free. Every departure from this principle will be of dangerous tendency; and every grant of *power or discretion*, the exercise of which is not prescribed by law, is a departure, and so far produces a government of *men*. No matter whether this power or discretion be placed in the hands of one man or a small body of men, short of the whole legislature, which alone perfectly represents the nation. For this reason I always disliked that part of the constitution which authorized the president and senate to make appointments to office; and still more the exercise of a power, *assumed* by the executive, of removing from office: a power which

I can no where find given in the constitution. It must be admitted, that if we are to have a government of *men*, and not of *laws*; and the president is to be entrusted with the exercise, at his discretion, of great powers and prerogatives; he ought to possess transcendant talents, and great integrity and firmness. But if the legislature will be at the trouble of making all necessary laws, for regulating and managing the affairs of the nation, as it is their duty to do; and the amendments I propose, to regulate the appointments to, and removals from, office shall be adopted, there will be very little left to the discretion of the president; and without hazard to the public welfare, he may be taken by lot from the senate.

To cross the Atlantic, in the first instance, required the *genius*, *firmness*, and *enterprize* of a Columbus; but with the aid of a *compass*, and *charts*, a man of moderate talents and information, and possessing common prudence, may navigate the ocean in safety. To organize and put in operation a new government, requires great talents and rare accomplishments; but now that our government is *under way*, and furnished with *laws* and well-digested *systems*, which are the *compass* and *charts* of the political pilots, with these aids, a number of men may be found in every state, fully competent to take the helm. And after the present plan shall have been some

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time in fair operation, we may presume on having presidents taken by lot from the senate, *equal* in talents and integrity, and *superior* in experience, impartiality, and regard to the public good, to presidents chosen in the present mode. For it should be remembered, that the purpose for which senators are appointed, (which is to manage public affairs, and represent the state in one of the important and independent branches of the national council,) will insure *practical* men, who generally speaking, may be more safely trusted, and more fully relied on for prudent and efficient management of the concerns of the nation, than men famed for *science* and abstruse learning. The latter will be more likely to be well acquainted with *nice theories* in government, than with what is *practically useful*.

Appointing a president by lot from the senate, will give every state an equal and fair chance of participating in the dignity of that high office; will prevent the possibility of bargaining among the large states, to the total exclusion of the middling and small states; and will thus remove one ground of jealousy, which must inevitably grow out of our present mode. As it regards the sovereignty of the respective states, the appointment by lot is in exact conformity to the principles of the constitution; for in the event of an election of a president by the house of representatives, each state has an equal vote, con-

formably with its equal rights, as sovereign and independent; so that in respect to *peace and union*, this mode of appointing a president would produce effects of great and lasting importance.

Being always disposed to ground my political maxims on *experience and fact*, and not on *theories*, however flattering in their appearance, I am happy to have it in my power to say, that this mode of appointing important officers by lot, where intrigue and undue influence were apprehended, is not novel. It has been practised with advantage in many republics, and particularly in some of the republics of Switzerland, where *civil liberty and equal rights* were well understood and enjoyed. The limits of my explanatory remarks will not admit of my going into the subject at large, and producing the authorities: which, however, should it become necessary, I will not fail to do on some future occasion. But I cannot forbear to mention the instance of a small republic in Switzerland, where a chief magistrate was appointed by lot, out of five candidates nominated by electors. No evil or inconvenience is stated to have arisen from it; on the contrary, it was attended with many benefits. It checked intrigue, cabal, and undue influence, and tranquillized the state. One-third of the senate is not so great a number of candidates for the United States, as five for that small republic. The greater the *number*, the more effectually does

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it exclude intrigues and cabal ; for there would be little inducement to electioneer for the chance of being selected by lot as president, for one year only, out of a class who shall have served three years in the senate. If such a mode was found salutary in a small republic (less likely than a large one to be convulsed by a popular election) it must prove much more so in such a widely extended country as the United States, where the consequences to be apprehended from civil commotion can better be imagined than described.

In Berne, the largest of the republics of Switzerland, whose "whole administration has been celebrated for its uncommon moderation, precision, and dispatch ;" the bailiffs, who, in their bailiwicks, "represented the sovereign authority, put the laws in execution; acted as judges in civil and criminal cases ;" and whose offices were lucrative, were appointed, by lot, from the grand council. The bailiffs were formerly *elected* ; but this mode was abandoned on account of the undue influence which operated, and which ever will operate, in the *election* to an office to which are attached *great power and emolument*.

As the president is to be taken from the senate; and if worthy of the senatorial office, must have experience, and be well informed of the affairs of the nation ; and can also avail himself of the information and talents of every member of the

government; there can be no solid objection to reducing his term of service to one year. The president will always enter on his office at the close of a session of congress: and during the recess, will have time to make himself more fully acquainted with the state of the nation, so as to present a proper view of it to the next congress, as well as to conduct, successfully, the public business to the end of his term. No serious embarrassment or inconvenience, in conducting the public business, has been felt from the change of a president, or the head of a department. There are, and always must be, subordinate officers round the government, well acquainted with the routine of business; which will and must proceed in its usual course. If any example were necessary, to shew that no injury would arise to the nation from an annual appointment of a president, I might instance the ancient republic of Rome; where, in the days of her greatest virtue, prosperity and glory, her chief magistrates, or councils, were chosen every year. But being taken from the senate, a body conversant with the management of their public affairs, as is our senate, no evil accrued to the republic.

The office of president is the only one in our government clothed with such powers as might endanger liberty; and I am not without apprehension, that at some future period they may be exerted to overthrow the liberties of our country,

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The change from four to ten years is small ; the next step would be from ten years to life, and then to the nomination of a successor ; from which the transition to an hereditary monarchy would almost follow of course. The exigencies of the country, the public safety, and the means of defence against foreign invasion, may place an army in the hands of an ambitious, daring, president, of which he would be the legitimate commander, and with which he might enforce his claim. This may not happen in my day ; it probably will not ; but I have children whom I love, and whom I expect to leave behind to share in the destinies of our common country : I cannot, therefore, feel indifferent to what may befall them and generations yet unborn.

I do not desire, in the smallest degree, to lessen the president's power, to do good ; I only wish to place such salutary checks upon his power, as to prevent his doing harm. His power of nominating and appointing to office, and removing from office, will still be continued ; with only the additional check of requiring the consent of the house of representatives, in one case, and of the senate and house in the other. All his other powers will remain the same as at present ; and there will be but little danger of an abuse of those powers, if the term of presidential office be reduced to one year, and the appointment be by lot, which will render it impossible to bring the high

prerogatives of this office to aid in procuring it. An artful intriguer cannot then point to the various lucrative offices, in the gift of the president, for the purpose of stimulating exertion in favour of his election; than which a more powerful engine could not have been devised.

Party spirit is the *demon* which has engendered the factions, that have destroyed most free governments. State or local parties will have but a feeble influence on the general government. Regular organized parties only, extending from the northern to the southern extremity of the United States, and from the Atlantic to the utmost western limits, threaten to shake this UNION to its centre. No man can be so blind but that he must see, and the *fact* is too *notorious* to be denied, that the danger is great, and demands an early and decisive remedy. There is but one which presents itself to my mind; this is, to cut off the head of the *demon*. For without a head, without a rallying point, no dangerous party can be formed; no such party can exist. There is but a single point in the constitution, which can be made to bear upon all the states at one and the same time, and produce an *unity of interest and action*, and thus serve as the *rallying point* of party; and that is the presidential election. This most dignified and important office of president, made more desirable by having attached to it a high salary, great power, and extensive patronage,

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cannot fail to bring forth and array all the electioneering artillery of the country ; and furnish the most formidable means of *organizing, concentrating, and cementing* parties. And when a president shall be elected by means of *party influence*, thus powerfully exerted, he cannot avoid *party bias*, and will thence become the CHIEF of a PARTY, instead of taking the dignified attitude of a PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES. If some other mode of filling the presidential chair, than that of a general election throughout the United States, were devised and adopted, it would be impossible to form national parties. There would, in some instances, be state and local parties; but they would have a very inconsiderable effect on the general government: they would be like town or country parties in states, which have a limited operation on the councils of the state. Indeed this presidential election does more than any thing else towards making parties in states—parties dangerous to their *ancient institutions*, and producing an injurious effect upon their most important concerns. In one word, it is now manifest, that the present mode of electing a president is producing, and will produce, many and great evils to the *union* and to the *individual states*.

The framers of the constitution were, I am told, strongly impressed with a sense of the difficulties and dangers which would attend a presidential election, and hence the various projects which were

offered, considered, and rejected. But to prevent a total failure of the object of their convening, they finally adopted the novel and complicated mode contained in the constitution : calculating upon it as a mode that would secure a *fair, unbiassed* exercise of the right of suffrage. To guard against official and congressional influence, the electors were to be chosen in each state, of whom no member of congress, or officer of the United States was to be one. To prevent combinations among the states, there was allowed but a short interval between the time of their being elected and that of giving in their votes. To prevent cabal among the electors, they were to meet in their respective states, and give in their votes on the same day. To guard against state attachments, two persons were to be voted for as president, one of whom at least, was not to be of the same state with themselves. And to insure a fair canvas of the votes, they were to be opened, and the election declared, in the presence of both houses of congress : the person having the greatest number of votes, if a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, to be president ; and if more than one have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, the house of representatives to choose, by ballot, one of them for president ; if no one have a majority, then out of the the five highest, the house of representatives in like manner to choose a president. In both cases

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the votes are to be taken by states, the representatives from each state having one vote. This mode so beautiful in *theory*, has substantially failed in *practice*.

The ingenuity of man being great, is it not to be feared that the time will come, and would it not be cause of deep regret if the time should come, when the country shall be so divided into parties, that a small number of persons, and those exclusively members of congress, (who are intended by the constitution to be excluded from all intermeddling in presidential elections), and that too in the very focus of presidential and official influence, (which the constitution meant carefully to guard against,) shall nominate a president? And to secure his election, it will be required, that every person before he shall receive a vote or an appointment as an elector, shall pledge himself to support such nomination, and thus the *president* will in *fact* be made to *choose* the *electors*, instead of the *electors* *choosing* the *president*.

Various modes of election, or appointment of a chief magistrate, have been tried: sometimes the choice has been confided to the people; sometimes to a legislature; sometimes to a senate; sometimes to electors chosen by the people, or the legislature; and sometimes by electors designated by a complication of lot and ballot. But in no instance of the election of a chief magistrate, clothed with royal prerogatives, where the votes were

permitted to be given directly for the candidate, has it been possible to exclude *undue influence*, *intrigue*, and *cabal*; which have produced serious evils, and sometimes ended in civil war: evils so great and terrible, as to induce most nations to prefer *hereditary succession*.

If this mode of appointing a president by lot should not be approved, I see but one other shield from the calamities to be apprehended from a popular election of a chief magistrate: this is, to strip the office of *royal prerogatives*, and of all power excepting so much as shall enable the president to become the *organ* of the *public will*, in such manner as shall be directed by law; to shorten the term of service; and lessen the salary. This will moderate the desire of obtaining the office, and paralyze individual exertion. If we mean to preserve both our *internal peace* and our *liberties*, we must consent to give up the *trappings*, as well as the *name* of royalty; and be content to wear the *humble garb* of republicans. If we will not make this sacrifice; if we will have the splendor of *royalty*; must we not, like the Israelites of old, have a king?

The experiment of a chief magistrate with limited powers and no discretionary prerogatives, has been successively tried in some of the states, and those *not inferior* in respectability and importance to any in this union. The chief magistracy is conferred by annual elections; and the

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governor is little more than *primus inter pares*—the first among his equals. Those states have been remarkable for their uniform, steady and firm adherence to their *ancient institutions*; and the governors of the states have displayed more energy in the execution of the laws, both of the general and the state governments, in aiding the prompt and impartial administration of justice, or in calling forth the military force for defence. In those states, prior to presidential elections, very little partial animosity or divisions existed, either in relation to the election of governor, or to the manner of executing his office. In these cases, the governor not having the general power of nominating or appointing to, or removing from office, *sudden, frequent, and general changes* of the subordinate officers of the state, do not take place. And can it admit of a question, whether the public good is advanced by such changes? Is there not danger that such extraordinary powers as are given in some constitutions, may be abused? Is it not possible, nay more, is it not probable, that chief magistrates may be found, who will use their powers to aid their elections, and to reward such as shall be most active and zealous in promoting them?

Of the impropriety and policy of the present mode of electing a president, can there be stronger proof, can there be more convincing evidence, than is now exhibiting in the United States? In

whatever direction we turn our eyes, we behold the people arranging themselves under the banners of different candidates, for the purpose of commencing the electioneering campaign for the next president and vice-president. All the passions and feelings of the human heart are brought into the most active operation. The electioneering spirit finds its way to every *fire-side*; pervades our *domestic circles*; and threatens to destroy the enjoyment of social harmony. The seeds of *discord* will be sown in families, among friends, and throughout the whole community. In saying this, I do not mean any thing to the disadvantage of either of the candidates. They may have no agency in the business; they may be the involuntary objects of such competition, without the power of directing or controlling the storm. The fault is in the mode of election; in setting the people to choose a king. In fact, a popular election, and the exercise of such powers and prerogatives as are, by the constitution, vested in the president, are incompatible. The evil is increasing, and will increase, until it shall terminate in civil war and despotism. The people, suffering under the scourge of party feuds, and factions, and finding no refuge under the state, any more than in the general government, from party persecution and oppression, may become impatient, and submit to the first *tyrant*,

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who can protect them against the *thousand tyrants*.

I have dwelt so long on this amendment, because of the novelty, in this country, of appointing a chief magistrate by lot. The *facility* of appointing by lot was obvious; but it seemed necessary to exhibit, and to demonstrate, the many and highly important advantages which will arise from this mode of appointing a president of the United States. The principal of these I will now present in one short view.

1st. It will make the *senate* more respectable.

2d. It is *prompt* and *certain*.

3d. It will avoid the *evils* of a *disputed election*, now unprovided for in the constitution.

4th. It will exclude *intrigue* and *cabal*.

5th. It gives *talents* and *modest merit* an equal chance.

6th. It is *economical*.

7th. It gives to the people a *PRESIDENT* of the United States, and not the *CHIEF* of a party.

8th. It removes *temptation* to use power otherwise than for *public good*.

9th. It will annihilate a *general party* pervading the whole United States.

10. It will remove a *direct, powerful* and *dangerous* influence of the general government, on the individual states.

11th. It will prevent the *influence* of a presi-

dential election on our *domestic concerns*, and *foreign relations*. And,

12th. It will secure the United States against the *usurpation* of power, and every attempt, through *fear*, *interest*, or *corruption*, to sacrifice their *interest*, *honour*, or *independence*; for one year is too short a time in which to contrive and execute any extensive and dangerous plan of unprincipled ambition; and the same person cannot be president during two successive years.

Reducing the presidential term of service to one year, will remove the necessity of attaching to the office the *splendour* of a *palace*. The *simplicity* of ancient republics would better suit the nature of our government. The instances of persons called from the plough to command armies, or to preside over the public councils, shew, that in a republic, *pomp* and *splendor* are not necessary to real dignity. Cincinnatus, who was content with the scanty support derived from tilling, with his *own hands*, his *four-acre farm*, has been as celebrated in history as the most splendid monarchs. By these remarks I would not be understood to object against giving adequate salaries to all public functionaries. In the cases of subordinate officers it may be left to legislative discretion. But the president having such great power and extensive influence, his compensation ought to have a constitutional limit, and not exceed fifteen thousand dollars.

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It will be readily seen, that upon my plan the office of vice-president can be no longer useful. It is, therefore, to be abolished, and provision made for choosing a speaker of the senate.

The exercise of the power of appointment to office is both delicate and difficult. To exclude the operation of *favouritism* is important, as it regards the public good. And it is not less so, to secure, in the various offices, men of *talents* and *integrity*. Almost any government, under the management of able and honest men, will prove a blessing; and the best form of government, in the hands of bad men, will be a curse to a people. The principle of *checks* applies with more force, and the necessity of them is as great, in relation to appointments to office, as in passing laws; *favouritism* being more likely to have influence in such appointments. The next amendment, therefore, is to provide a like security in both cases, by requiring the advice and consent of the senate and house of representatives to appointments to office, where other provisions shall not be made by law.

This additional check will make it somewhat more difficult to obtain an office; but that will be more than countervailed by the additional guard which it will afford against the introduc-

tion of bad men. It is impossible for any president to know the characters of most candidates for office. The knowledge of the senate is also very limited, as every day's experience shows; the senators being obliged, individually, to make application to members of the other house for information. Both president and senate are exposed to misinformation. Under these circumstances, what better source of information can we have, than the representatives of the people, coming from every portion of the union: they can, and when it is made their official duty, they will give correct information. Another circumstance which renders this amendment proper, is that the president is to be taken from the senate: some check, therefore, against the favouritism of the senate would seem peculiarly proper. The requiring of the concurrence of both senate and house of representatives, would induce a greater caution, in the executive, in making nominations, and more circumspection, in the senate, in passing upon them.

Most of the observations on the preceding amendment will apply to the next, and last, which I shall propose; which is to make the consent of the senate and house of representatives necessary to removals from office.

Though no express power is given, by the constitution, to the president, to remove from office, it has been assumed and exercised in a manner

which gives absolute power to fill vacancies in the recess of the senate, to hold their offices, of the senate, making vacancies in office, notwithstanding advice and consent more than in their sessions, his power, which will be an officer of the senate, to an ensign, commission, to the end, remove all, and to make, thus having sword and for an entire purposes, e years to make whole civil country, plans, views, and having law to the province resisted with and being

which gives to the president almost the absolute power of appointment; for having the power to fill vacancies, which take place during the recess of the senate, the persons so appointed to hold their offices to the end of the next session of the senate, and having exercised the power of making vacancies at pleasure by removal from office, no appointments made by and with the advice and consent of the senate, can continue more than one day, or while the senate continue their session, if the president is pleased to exercise his power of removal. A tremendous power this, which will enable a president to remove every officer of the army, from the commanding general to an ensign, at pleasure; to appoint and grant commissions to his partizans to continue in force to the end of the next session of the senate; to remove all civil officers, the judges only excepted, and to make new appointments for the same term: thus having the absolute command both of the sword and the purse, a sufficient length of time for an enterprizing, ambitious man to execute his purposes, especially after having had two or three years to mature his plans: and when aided by the whole civil authority and military power of the country, placed in the hands of men devoted to his views, and subordinated to his will. Such officers having lawful commissions, issued in conformity to the provisions of the constitution, could not be resisted without incurring the penalties of the law, and being liable to criminal prosecutions, and

infamous punishment ; which no doubt would be promptly executed upon them. Then would *treason laws*, *sedition laws*, and the whole penal code be brought into active operation.

Having these impressions, I have never been able to persuade myself to believe, that the framers of the constitution, whose great aim was to give *security* to our nation's rights, and who have so carefully guarded all the lesser avenues to the TEMPLE OF LIBERTY, against the unhallowed footsteps of *usurpation* and *despotism* ; should not only have thus left wide open the principal gate, but have delivered into the hands of such an assailant the *key* of the temple, and the very *centinels* placed to guard the entrance.

Having gone through and explained the various amendments which I propose to offer for consideration, I will close my observations with a few general remarks upon the different kinds of government, including our own.

In a *monarchy*, the powers of government are concentrated in one man, whose *will* is a *supreme law*. This is the most energetic and powerful of all governments for military enterprize or conquest. The whole resources of the nation being subject to the controul of a single chief, are capable of being directed with the greatest *energy* and *effect*. In the hands of an able prince, whose measures are directed by wisdom and a supreme regard for the public welfare, and whose aim is

to promote his subjects (happens) conducive to other. But as the experiment must be made, the chances of the proposed be risked. In regard to government, neither the government

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to promote the real prosperity and happiness of his subjects, (which unfortunately too seldom happens), this kind of government is, perhaps, as conducive to the tranquillity of the nation, as any other. But such a government cannot be elective, as the experience of all ages has demonstrated. It must be hereditary; and is thus liable to all the chances of a weak or wicked succession. And the proportion of such characters is too great to be risked, but in cases of inevitable necessity. In regard to the United States, this form of government is out of the question. We have neither the materials of which to form such a government, nor the disposition to introduce it.

Aristocracy is a government in the hands of nobles. Venice, among others, exhibited an example, where the rights and interests of the *few*, were preferred to those of the *many*. It was a most-undesirable government. To form an aristocracy *privileged orders* and *hereditary succession* are indispensable. The moment you limit the privilege, in its duration, to any term short of life; or omit the popular voice in its creation, by subjecting it, at regular periods, to a popular election; it ceases to possess the necessary attributes of aristocracy. The United States do not possess the *materials* for forming an aristocracy. We have no *privileged orders*; nor should we readily consent to make a selection of men on whom we would confer such privileges, and agree

that they should enjoy them as a right of inheritance. It is impossible, therefore, that an aristocracy should grow up or exist in the United States. We have not the means of making even an aristocratic branch to our government.

A democracy is a government wholly in the hands of the people ; where, in their own proper persons, and not by representatives, they manage their own national concerns. Athens, in ancient Greece, nearly answered this description ; and, as long as the people preserved their virtue, it was powerful, prosperous, and happy. The great evil to which such a government is exposed, is, that in a sudden impulse of passion, or of groundless jealousy, the people are excited to some *rash* and *mischievous* act, which, when their passions subside, they review with the deepest remorse. A popular assembly, inflamed by artful designing men, condemned Socrates the good and great to die. After the sentence was executed, their passions subsided ; they repented the rash deed, and decreed distinguished honours to his name. When the morals of the people begin to decline, " DEMAGOGUES, the greatest curse of free governments," make their appearance ; and under the garb of patriotism and love of country, insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people ; procure their own elevation to office ; and by their machinations and intrigues, carried on under this specious garb, finally overturn the liberties of

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their country. Of this melancholy truth the experience of former republics furnishes abundant proofs—and these ought to serve as a beacon to our country. The *people* can have no possible interest in supporting such men; but led into a blind confidence in them by their professions of patriotism, are made the instruments of their own destruction. In ancient republics, the wisest and most virtuous of their citizens were sometimes excluded from office, banished, and even put to death. When a citizen claims to be an *exclusive patriot*, and is very officious in proclaiming his *own merit*, it is time for the people to be alarmed.

When the three kinds of government above described are united, as in the government of Great Britain, it is called a *mixed monarchy*. There is always such a spirit of jealousy existing between aristocracy and democracy, and between monarchy and democracy, that they cannot long exist together, without a third balancing power. As well might a man take up his abode in a tiger's den, as aristocracy with democracy, unless protected by the *strong arm* of monarchy. Neither can monarchy and democracy dwell together, unless the throne be surrounded by a *powerful* aristocracy. Singly, democracy is an overmatch for either. The reason is obvious—*there* is the physical force, NUMBERS. Whenever an attempt has been made to oppose either monarchy or aristocracy, singly, as a check on democracy, they

have been found too feeble to support themselves; discord has arisen, which has generally terminated in the overthrow of such check; and democracy, remaining master of the field, and freed from all *restraint* or *check*, has degenerated into faction, and paved the way to *despotism*—despotism of the worst kind, which has entered at the door of *discord* and *civil war*. It is a cause of deep regret that it should have been the unhappy lot of most countries where *liberty* has found an asylum, to lose it by its own excess. And this will be our case, unless effectual provision be made to stem the torrent of *party spirit* and *violence*.

To superficial observers our government may seem to be assimilated to the mixed government before mentioned. But as the materials necessary to compose such a government do not, and cannot exist among us, whatever attributes of power, appropriate to those deficient materials, are introduced into our constitution, ought to be taken away; for in practice they are found only to bring evils, unmixed with benefits. Ours is a *free representative republic*, deriving all power from the people; and when amended, as I propose, for the purpose of checking *party spirit*, *executive influence*, and *favoritism*, will correctly express the *public opinion*, and declare the *public will*: and could the people be left to a fair, *uninfluenced* exercise of their right of suffrage, and our public councils be guided in their delibera-

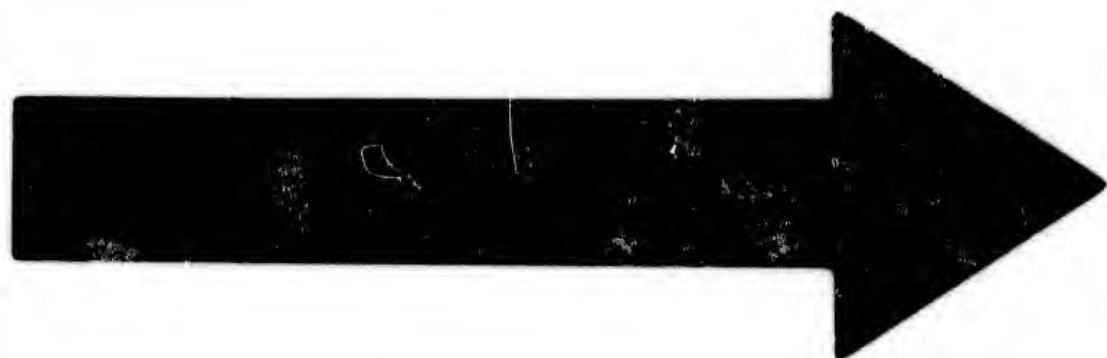
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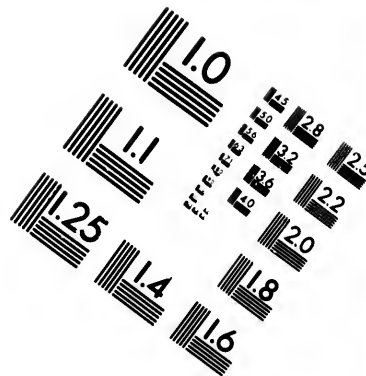
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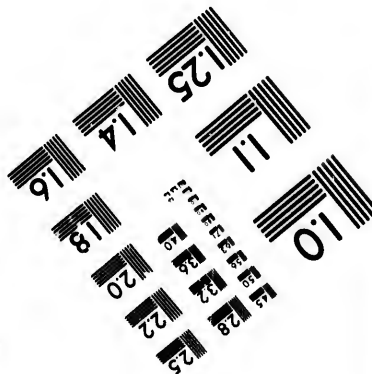
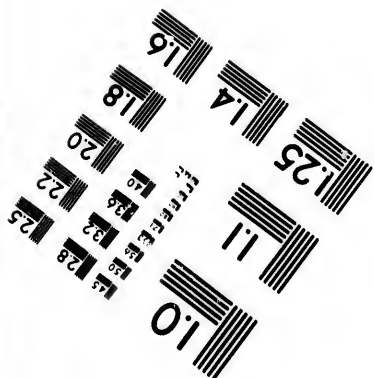
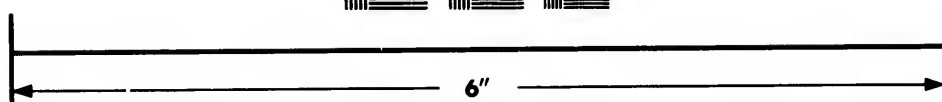
tions and decisions, by an honest zeal for the public good, regardless of personal views of elevation to, or continuance in office; ours would be the best and happiest government that does or ever did exist.

That I may not be misunderstood, I do most expressly declare, that in a free government, such as is that of the United States, deriving its power wholly from the people, I do consider checks to be necessary, nay more, to be indispensable. Without them the government could not long exist; but would be like a ship under full sail, in a brisk gale, without ballast. But the checks must comport with the principles of a popular government, which excluding all hereditary distinctions, must depend for its support on a proper distribution of power. Those principles require, what experience has demonstrated to be correct, that, as those who exercise the powers of government are *individually equal* in their *rights*, and alike derive their authorities directly or indirectly, from the people, they be divided whenever they are assembled, into several branches or departments, each, when acting on the same measures, having a check on the other. Thus in the legislature, the two houses must each have an absolute negative on the doings of the other; and the executive a qualified negative on both. In this there is security, that every subject will be *discussed* and *decided* on in the two houses *sepa-*





A resolution test chart featuring various patterns of horizontal and vertical lines of increasing frequency. Each pattern is accompanied by a numerical value indicating its resolution. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10, 11.2, 12.5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.5, 25, 28, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 56, 63, 71, 80, 90, 100, 112, 125, 140, 160, 180, 200, 225, 250, 280, 320, 360, 400, 450, 500, 560, 630, 710, 800, 900, 1000, 1120, 1250, 1400, 1600, 1800, 2000, 2250, 2500, 2800, 3200, 3600, 4000, 4500, 5000, 5600, 6300, 7100, 8000, 9000, 10000, 11200, 12500, 14000, 16000, 18000, 20000, 22500, 25000, 28000, 32000, 36000, 40000, 45000, 50000, 56000, 63000, 71000, 80000, 90000, 100000, 112000, 125000, 140000, 160000, 180000, 200000, 225000, 250000, 280000, 320000, 360000, 400000, 450000, 500000, 560000, 630000, 710000, 800000, 900000, 1000000, 1120000, 1250000, 1400000, 1600000, 1800000, 2000000, 2250000, 2500000, 2800000, 3200000, 3600000, 4000000, 4500000, 5000000, 5600000, 6300000, 7100000, 8000000, 9000000, 10000000, 11200000, 12500000, 14000000, 16000000, 18000000, 20000000, 22500000, 25000000, 28000000, 32000000, 36000000, 40000000, 45000000, 50000000, 56000000, 63000000, 71000000, 80000000, 90000000, 100000000, 112000000, 125000000, 140000000, 160000000, 180000000, 200000000, 225000000, 250000000, 280000000, 320000000, 360000000, 400000000, 450000000, 500000000, 560000000, 630000000, 710000000, 800000000, 900000000, 1000000000, 1120000000, 1250000000, 1400000000, 1600000000, 1800000000, 2000000000, 2250000000, 2500000000, 2800000000, 3200000000, 3600000000, 4000000000, 4500000000, 5000000000, 5600000000, 6300000000, 7100000000, 8000000000, 9000000000, 10000000000, 11200000000, 12500000000, 14000000000, 16000000000, 18000000000, 20000000000, 22500000000, 25000000000, 28000000000, 32000000000, 36000000000, 40000000000, 45000000000, 50000000000, 56000000000, 63000000000, 71000000000, 80000000000, 90000000000, 100000000000, 112000000000, 125000000000, 140000000000, 160000000000, 180000000000, 200000000000, 225000000000, 250000000000, 280000000000, 320000000000, 360000000000, 400000000000, 450000000000, 500000000000, 560000000000, 630000000000, 710000000000, 800000000000, 900000000000, 1000000000000, 1120000000000, 1250000000000, 1400000000000, 1600000000000, 1800000000000, 2000000000000, 2250000000000, 2500000000000, 2800000000000, 3200000000000, 3600000000000, 4000000000000, 4500000000000, 5000000000000, 5600000000000, 6300000000000, 7100000000000, 8000000000000, 9000000000000, 10000000000000, 11200000000000, 12500000000000, 14000000000000, 16000000000000, 18000000000000, 20000000000000, 22500000000000, 25000000000000, 28000000000000, 32000000000000, 36000000000000, 40000000000000, 45000000000000, 50000000000000, 56000000000000, 63000000000000, 71000000000000, 80000000000000, 90000000000000, 100000000000000, 112000000000000, 125000000000000, 140000000000000, 160000000000000, 180000000000000, 200000000000000, 225000000000000, 250000000000000, 280000000000000, 320000000000000, 360000000000000, 400000000000000, 450000000000000, 500000000000000, 560000000000000, 630000000000000, 710000000000000, 800000000000000, 900000000000000, 1000000000000000, 1120000000000000, 1250000000000000, 1400000000000000, 1600000000000000, 1800000000000000, 2000000000000000, 2250000000000000, 2500000000000000, 2800000000000000, 3200000000000000, 3600000000000000, 4000000000000000, 4500000000000000, 5000000000000000, 5600000000000000, 6300000000000000, 7100000000000000, 8000000000000000, 9000000000000000, 10000000000000000, 11200000000000000, 12500000000000000, 14000000000000000, 16000000000000000, 18000000000000000, 20000000000000000, 22500000000000000, 25000000000000000, 28000000000000000, 32000000000000000, 36000000000000000, 40000000000000000, 45000000000000000, 50000000000000000, 56000000000000000, 63000000000000000, 71000000000000000, 80000000000000000, 90000000000000000, 100000000000000000, 112000000000000000, 125000000000000000, 140000000000000000, 160000000000000000, 180000000000000000, 200000000000000000, 225000000000000000, 250000000000000000, 280000000000000000, 320000000000000000, 360000000000000000, 400000000000000000,



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rately. This will tend to arrest *hasty* measures, and prevent *favouritism* ; for, upon the plan proposed, it would be rare indeed if an excitement of *passion*, or a *sudden impulse* of feeling, should operate, at the same moment, in the three departments, to induce the adoption of an improper measure ; or that a candidate for office should have such good fortune, as to secure the concurrence of all three to his appointment, on the ground of mere *favouritism*.

The different branches of the government from a regard to their own privileges and character, and influenced each by that *esprit de corps* and self-respect which political bodies naturally possess, will feel a pride in correcting the errors and mistakes of the other. An act after it has passed both houses, must be considered and decided upon by the executive, who, if he disapproves, is to return it unaccompanied with his reasons for such dissent. Then it is to undergo a revision ; and cannot take effect but by a concurrence of two-thirds of each branch, under the high responsibility of having the measure entered at large on the public journals, with the reasons against its adoption, together with the name and vote of each member ; who thereby pledges himself for its policy and correctness. Under these checks, it would be strange, indeed, if a measure, manifestly ruinous in its consequences, or very injurious to the nation, should not be arrested in

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its progress; if, however, it should unfortunately be otherwise, frequent elections, and the short duration of the term of office, will put it in the power of the nation to correct the evil. Improper acts sometimes pass through inattention, or misapprehension of their tendency; this is to be expected; it is incident to human frailty.

It having been shown that a long term of service does not tend to produce an independent course of conduct, but the contrary; the term of service ought to conform to the convenient and beneficial organization of the government. One year for the house, will bring every session of Congress to succeed a new election; one-third of the senators will also have been newly elected. Two thirds of the senate remaining, they can check a ruinous measure brought forward by the House of Representatives, chosen under any sudden impulse, which, for a moment might agitate the nation, and, under the influence of which, the election may have been made, until the people shall have had one year to consider, and a new election shall have taken place; when, if the measure be still persisted in, it may be considered as a fair expression of the public will, and ought to pass. Any attempt to add a further check or restraint would be useless, perhaps injurious, as it might lead the people to such an exertion of power to overcome such restraint, as might make a breach in the constitution.

In the opinion of men respecting liberty and free government, there are two extremes to which we are exposed, which are the Scylla and Charybdis of such governments, and which ought carefully to be shunned ; as the inclination to one or the other exposes to shipwreck. On one hand, too great an apprehension of danger from popular instability and violence, may excite a wish to increase the energies of the government to excess. This, instead of insuring personal safety, and giving stability and security to our systems, tend to unite jealousy and fears among the people, and to impel them to exertions of power often injurious and sometimes dangerous. On the other hand, apprehensions of mighty evils from too much energy in government, have produced the opposite extreme, and have led many to attempt to take away all restraint on the popular will, and induced a wish to place the supreme legislative and executive power in the hands of a single body, chosen under the greatest possible popular feeling ; excluding altogether the benefits of these checks which secure deliberation. A division of the same men into two branches, deliberating separately, and rendered independent of each other, by a negative reciprocally absolute, would conduce to consideration, and a prudent result ; and afford a great security against rash and intemperate acts.

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Another rock which presents danger, on which liberty has most generally been shipwrecked, is *party spirit*. Whenever a free people become so divided into parties, as that all elections and appointments to office become a struggle between the *ins* and the *outs*, liberty is in danger; the public good is lost sight of, and the government degenerates into a faction, which is made subservient to the most oppressive party persecution, and is subject to a continual fluctuation and change. At such times, modest merit retires from public employment; and the affairs of the nation fall into the hands of men, whose sole recommendation are zeal and violence. As the *ins* have nothing to give, and the *outs* will have the public offices at their disposal, on the event of a successful election, the government will be continually vibrating between parties. What possible interest can the great body of the people have in such a state of things; are the interest, peace, and happiness of the *many* to be sacrificed to the *few*? Are the *people's rights* nothing, and the claims of a few individuals to office every thing? And who are these few? They are office-hunters and ambitious men, who are not content to walk in the paths of private life, aim only at their own elevation; men who profess to love the people, in order to mount on their shoulders to power and wealth. It may be asked, why is it thus? I answer, that such men, regardless of the

real interest, always address themselves to the *passions* of the people, which lock up their understandings and judgments close prisoners.

The only effectual way of remedying these evils, is to remove the causes. This may be done by returning the representatives by frequent elections to the people ; by shortening the terms of service of the president and senate ; by reducing the salary of the president ; by avoiding, as much as possible, the accumulation of power in the hands of an individual, or a small body of men ; and above all, by constituting such a mode of obtaining a chief magistrate as shall not be made the instrument of arraying the people, from one end to the other of this extended empire, into parties, under different chiefs, the candidates for the presidential chair.

The organization of the general and state governments exhibits the most remarkable combinations of checks and balances of individual and state security ever known. The general government, as it regards the nation, has a sovereign and controlling power over the seventeen state governments ; while each of these, independent and sovereign for all local and state purposes, depends on, and is connected with, the general government, by the strong attraction of its national interests. The general government, like the sun in the solar system, is the centre of attraction, and the bond of union ; and its provisions for the *common de-*

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VOL. III.

fence and general welfare, like the rays of the sun, give life and activity to the nation. As the planets, in their revolutions round the sun, have their distinct spheres of attraction and controul, so the States, separately, possess complete sovereignty, each within its own jurisdiction and limits, extending to its citizens protection to life, liberty, and property. How much is it to be lamented, that a system so beautiful in theory, and so beneficial in practice, should be disturbed by that FIEND party spirit; that *prince of the power of the air*, who can invade every sphere; that *demon* who can pass the bounds of every state, and, by sowing discord and divisions, destroy social harmony, overturn the most valuable institutions, and endanger the liberties of our country.

I have been obliged, for the purpose of explaining the practicability and operation of the amendments, and of proving and illustrating their utility, to make a considerable range; though they are simple, few in number, and easily made; and when made, will leave the other provisions of the constitution unimpaired, and in their fair, full, and perfect operation. They may be comprized under four heads:

1st. As to the legislative body, to shorten the term of service of the representatives from two years to one, and of the senators from six years to three.

2d. As to the Executive, to shorten the term of office of the President from four years to one, reduce his salary, and alter the mode of his appointment.

3d. To abolish the office of Vice-president.

4th. To place an additional check on the President's power of appointing to, and removing from office.

I shall be asked whether, at any time when we are threatened with danger from abroad, and have party dissensions at home, it is not an inauspicious season for bringing forward amendments to the constitution? Why I have been so long silent, and have not before presented this all-important subject to the view of Congress and the nation? These are questions which I have well considered, and I have fully satisfied myself that *now is the only time* to engage attention. In times of perfect tranquillity, every man is occupied with his farm, his merchandize, and other objects by which he may acquire subsistence, wealth, and honest fame. Seeing no immediate danger, he gives himself no concern about the constitution. The time of danger is the only time when public attention can be universally excited.

The constitution, in those parts which I propose to change, appeared so beautiful in theory, that no attempt to alter it would have attracted the smallest notice, until by experiment it should

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be found to be ineffectual for the purpose intended—a *fair election of a president, and a beneficial exercise of the powers and provisions of the constitution*. The experiment has been made, and many of the people of the United States are now satisfied that *amendments* are necessary, are indispensable ; and this is perhaps the first moment, when I could have gained an audience to such amendments as I think necessary, and such as alone can effect a radical cure.

From the circumstances of the time, may I not hope for their adoption ? Is there not reason to fear, that if we sail on a little longer in the *stream of party*, the current will set so strongly, that we cannot return, but must descend a *cataract*, which will dash in pieces our *national ship* ?

The importance of the subject will furnish my apology, for having taken up so much of the time of the senate in explanatory remarks. The sentiments I have expressed have not been hastily adopted ; they are not the sudden impulse of the moment ; nor do they proceed from the collision of party. They are the sober sentiments of my heart ; some of which I have long entertained, and often expressed to my most intimate and confidential friends. And they are sentiments which seventeen years experience, as a member of the senate and house of representatives, under this constitution, has served to impress and enforce on my mind ; and, during that whole period, there has

not occurred *one solitary fact* to disprove their correctness.

May I be permitted in this hour of alarm, when almost the whole civilized world is engaged in a destructive and exterminating war ; when thick clouds hang lowering over our heads, and danger surrounds us on every side ; to invoke *patriotism* ; to call to our aid *love of country* ; to enable us to make a willing sacrifice, on the altar of the public welfare, of all *local* and *party* feelings, of all *groundless jealousy*, and of whatever can excite and keep alive *divisions* among us. Let us *unite* in providing for the public defence. Let us candidly come forward and repair any breach which may have been made in the constitution, the *fortress of our safety and union*, and carefully search out and correct such errors, and supply such defects, as it shall be found to contain ; not in a manner to promote any particular or favorite object, but so as *to add to its strength and durability*, that it may secure to unborn millions, the *blessings of peace and good government*, and *fix on a solid basis their liberty and independence*.

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CHAP. XLVIII.

Leave Boston—Crowded Stage—Concord—Keene—Walpole—Newspapers—Diffusion of Knowledge and Information among the Country People—Leave New Hampshire—Enter Vermont—Origin of its Name—Stupendous Mountains—Particulars respecting Vermont—Arrive at Rutland—Indisposition there—Canadian Merchant—Quaint Phrases and Expressions of the Americans—An American Language—Christian Names—Arrive at Middlebury—Vergennes—Bad Roads through the Forests—A Remarkable Thief—Arrival at Burlington—Account of that Town—Meet David—Continue my Journey to St. Alban's—Cross the Lake—Chazy—Potash Manufactory—Journey from thence to La Prairie—Arrive at Montreal.

ON Friday, 29th April, I left Boston about four o'clock in the morning. I had taken a place the preceding day in the Burlington stage, on my return to Canada. When I put my name down at the coach office, there were not three

places taken ; but when the stage called for me at Lamphear's hotel the next morning, it was literally crowded to an overflow. At the utmost the stage should hold no more than twelve persons, including the driver, and is then considered too crowded ; but this morning there were upwards of sixteen persons jammed together in the most uncomfortable manner, sitting four on a seat, or leaning back in each other's lap. There are no *outside* passengers to the American stages ; it may therefore be easily conceived how *agreeably* sixteen people were huddled together in the *inside*.

I found it useless to remonstrate with the driver at such a flagrant imposition upon the public, for unless I chose to crowd in amongst the rest, I should have been under the necessity of waiting four days longer, and perhaps with as little chance of being better accommodated. I was therefore obliged to take up with a small portion of the seat on which the driver and two others sat in front, and even that was an enviable birth to those behind. The coach was also crowded with baggage, and it was with difficulty I could find room for my portmanteau.

I must do the driver the justice to say, that it was the proprietor's and not his fault ; and that he did not (as is sometimes the case with the *gemmen of the whip*, even in England) increase

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the unpleasantness of our situation by insolent or abusive language ; on the contrary, he was very civil and good humoured, and strove to quiet our complaints by assuring us that he should set some of his passengers down, after we had gone a few miles.

We passed over West Boston bridge, through the town of Cambridge, and stopped to breakfast at Concord, a small village, celebrated as the scene of the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies in 1775. We dined at Groton ; and arrived about dusk at the town of Keene, forty five miles from Boston, where we slept. In the course of the day we had relieved ourselves of four of our fellow travellers, but the number left was still sufficient to be incommodious in a long journey.

The next morning, by break of day, we proceeded on our route, and arrived at Walpole to breakfast. The country we had passed over this morning and the preceding day, was partly in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It was in general well cultivated, and consisted of lofty hills and fertile valleys. The towns and villages, though of inconsiderable size, consisted of neat and well built houses, and displayed much of the characteristic cleanliness of the New England States. Walpole is situated on the Connecticut river, which divides the states of New Hampshire and Vermont.

The long stages, throughout the United States, always carry the mail; and it was entertaining to see the eagerness of the people on our arrival, to get a sight of the last newspaper from Boston. They flocked to the post-office and the inn, and formed a variety of groups round those who were fortunate enough to possess themselves of a paper. There they stood, with open mouths, swallowing "*the lies of the day*," which would be as readily contradicted on the morrow. Opposite the inn at Walpole there is a printing-office, from which a newspaper issues once a week. The press was then at work, and the *devils* busily employed in fabricating accounts which, in a few hours after our departure, no doubt set all the town together by the ears.

In America all are politicians, and every man a federalist or a democrat. The eagerness of the people for news, far surpasses even that of our country. Newspapers are not charged with any duty, and seldom cost more than $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $3d.$ sterling, and about a halfpenny more for the carriage. Hence these vehicles of intelligence and information are accessible to every class of people in the States; and there is scarcely a poor owner of a miserable log hut, who lives on the border of the stage road, but has a newspaper left at his door.

Each man takes in a paper that agrees with his politics, or rather directs them; but those who

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are remotely situated from a town where they are published, must depend upon the *politics of the coachman*, for such a paper as he chooses to bring them. One of the drivers during my journey, happened to be a *federalist*, and afforded me considerable mirth in this respect. No sooner did he blow his horn than up scampered men, women, and children to the coach, eagerly begging for their favorite paper. If they wanted a *democratic* one, they must either take a *federalist*, or go without. He had a few of the others with him, but he never would deliver them if he could avoid it.

I am of opinion that this general circulation of newspapers throughout America, tends very much to the instruction of the country people, and divests them of that air of ignorance and rusticity which characterize the greater part of the peasantry in Europe. The knowledge acquired by newspapers may be superficial, but it gives men a general acquaintance with the world. It sets before them the actions of their countrymen, and the government under which they live; it renders them familiar with the transactions of foreign nations; and though confined to a small spot themselves, yet at one view they become acquainted with every section of the globe. Without a knowledge of what is passing in the world, man may be said to be an isolated being; but with a newspaper before him, he mixes with society, hears the opinions of others, and may communi-

cate his sentiments upon men and things to all parts of the world.

This general information among the country people of the United States, tends to remove that air of honest ignorant rusticity, which distinguish the peasantry of Europe ; and hence they often appear to have the knowledge and cunning of the town, with little of its polish.

It is this too, which may have led strangers to consider the Americans, as artful and impertinent people, compared with the European peasantry. The humble simplicity of the latter won their affection, while the knowledge and confidence of the former occasioned offence ; or if they experienced politeness, it was looked upon as the civility of knaves willing to overreach them. Whatever inconveniences, however, may be felt from this diffusion of knowledge among the lower classes, by those who have been accustomed to homage and submission from their inferiors, yet a nation whose peasantry is thus instructed and enlightened, must, I should think, feel the benefit of it, and possess advantages which others, whose people are whelmed in ignorance and superstition, can never enjoy.

The expense of travelling by the stage in the Northern and Middle States, is not quite $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling per mile ; but in the Southern States it is upwards of $6d.$ The taverns, also, to the northward seldom charge more than a quarter of

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dollar for each meal, and the same for a bed ; but to the southward it is double, and frequently treble that sum.

On leaving Walpole we crossed the Connecticut river, and entered the state of Vermont over a tolerable good bridge, near which is a pretty romantic fall or cascade. The river is of inconsiderable breadth in this part of the country, though it rises in Canada upwards of 120 miles above Walpole, and divides the states of Vermont and New Hampshire.

For several miles we rode along a tolerable level country, but by the time we halted to dine, we were surrounded by enormous mountains. This state takes its name from the *Green Mountains*, and the people were originally distinguished by the title of *Green Mountain Boys*; but it at length became, in their opinion, a reproachful term, and they Frenchified the name of the state to *Vermont*, and themselves to *Vermontese*. Perhaps they displayed their partiality to the French in the adoption of this name, for the majority of the inhabitants are said to be of democratic principles. *Democracy*, however, is not the creed of Frenchmen at this day, yet it is curious to see how very tenacious the jacobins and liberty-men of Europe and America are, even now, of every thing that is *French*, and how they bow down and worship that *despotism* which a few years ago they reviled

and execrated. But instead of paying homage to a *thousand* tyrants, they now idolize only *one* !

Vermont is generally a mountainous country ; but there are higher mountains in New Hampshire. The white mountains, in particular, are said to be above 7000 feet above the level of the sea. Their summits are continually covered with snow, from which they derive their appellation.

“ No vernal blooms their torpid rocks array,
But winter, ling’ring, chills the lap of May ;
No zephyr fondly sues the mountain’s breast,
But meteors glare, and stormy glooms invest.”

Vermont is yet a new country, and before the American war, was but little settled, especially towards the northern parts of the state. Most of the towns towards Canada have been built within these twenty years, and almost entirely depend for their existence upon the trade with that country. The southern part of Vermont trades chiefly with New York, Boston, Salem, and the principal New England ports. Their exports consist of pot and pearl ashes, salt pork, beef, and fish ; horses, oxen, wheat, and flour ; oak, pine timber, staves, and other lumber ; butter, cheese, maple, sugar, &c. The principal articles which they receive from Canada, are *salt* and *specie*, so that the balance of trade is greatly in their favor.

This state was peopled chiefly by emigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut : but the

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township in Orange County is said to be settled mostly by *Scotch* people. The Vermontese are generally a tall, rawboned people ; they are as industrious and hard working as any of the New England men, but are less polished in their manners than those of other states. They are keen traders, and are seldom outwitted in a bargain : on the contrary, they have often displayed their dexterity as horse jockeys in Canada, and exchanged their weak and rickety pacers, for the hardy little Canadian horses.

During this day's ride, I was for the most part the only passenger in the coach. The weather was fine, and I enjoyed my own cogitations without interruption, while the coach rolled along the edge of a stupendous mountain, or glided through a pleasant and fertile valley ; immense forests presented themselves every where to the eye, covering the whole of the highlands and mountains to their very summits. Below, the valleys were generally well cultivated ; but in many places the trees appeared to have been very lately cut down.

We arrived in the evening at Rutland, one of the principal towns of Vermont, and alternately the seat of government with Windsor. It contains upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, and consists of a single street of tolerable houses, built of wood, well painted, and in good condition. The stage not travelling in this state on Sundays, and

it being Saturday evening when I arrived, I was obliged to remain at Rutland all the following day. The fatigue of travelling, almost night and day, over different roads in a mountainous country, had made me extremely unwell, and it was fortunate that Sunday intervened, otherwise I should have been unable to proceed.

At the inn, where we stopped, I met with Mr. Swan, a merchant of Montreal, who was on his way to New York with bills of exchange, which were selling in that city at eight and ten per cent. above par, in consequence of the stagnation of trade. In Canada, bills were at a discount of five per cent. so that it may be easily perceived what a lucrative traffic that gentleman was engaged in: specie, however, was prohibited by the embargo act, from being sent out of the states; but the law was continually evaded.

Monday, 2nd May, at three o'clock in the morning, I departed from Rutland in the stage, in company with an old lady who was going upon a visit to St. Alban's, a considerable distance beyond Burlington. We were the only passengers, and as my fellow traveller had nothing very fascinating, either in her manners or appearance, we exchanged but few words together. She carried her provision with her in a bag, and at every place where we alighted to meals, she left me to do the honours of the table by myself; but she never failed, previous to getting into the coach again, to light a short pipe, and smoke it

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out on the road, continually annoying me with her disagreeable whiffs.

Not having entirely recovered from my indisposition the preceding day, and the road becoming worse every mile we went, my looks were by no means in my favour, and the old lady said to me, "*an't you a man that is not in good health?*" Though my spirits were extremely low, yet I could scarcely refrain from laughing at the quaintness of her question: however, I smoothed my countenance into gravity, and told her that I had lately been much fatigued by travelling.

I found, in several instances, that the country-people of Vermont, and other New England States, make use of many curious phrases, and quaint expressions in their conversation, which are rendered more remarkable by a sort of *nasal twang* which they have in speaking. Every thing that creates surprize, is *awful* with them; "what an *awful* wind! *awful* hole! *awful* hill! *awful* mouth! *awful* nose! &c.; and instead of imagining, supposing, or believing, as we do, they always *guess* at every thing; "I *guess* as how, Jonathan, it's not so *could* as *yeasterday*," "Why I *guess* Nathan, that the wind has *changed*." A variety of other quaint expressions are equally common; and have become favourite phrases, not only among the country people, but even among many of the American writers. "The crops are *progressing*," says Nathan,

though I *calculate* as how this is a *propitious* weedy soil." "Has the embargo act *progressed* in Congress?" "Which have you *reference* to," says Jonathan, "for there are four or five of them?" "Oh the last supplementary," replies Nathan. "It will soon come plump upon us," returns the other; "It's *tarnation* provoking that we can't *swop* goods with the Canadians; what the devil has England or France to do with Lake Champlain? they don't search our vessels, and take our seamen there." "It's a *nation* shame, to be sure," replies Nathan, "but I'm determined to *waggon* my ashes along a bye-path over the Line, and bring back some *genu-ine* dollars from Canada. It's a *lengthy* way for *sartain*, but I guess I shall soon be on the opposite side of the Line, in spite of their *ograb-me* laws."

Colloquial barbarisms like the above, among the peasantry of a country, are excusable; but when they are used in composition by writers, they become disgusting. I could collect hundreds of others equally absurd, which have been invented by Americans who are desirous of introducing, what they call, an *American language*; but unless they resort to the *Catabaw*, *Chactaw*, or *Kickapoo* dialects, I am sure they will never accomplish it by *murdering* the English tongue.

The Americans, particularly in the New England States, formerly christened their children after the old formal names, in vogue a few centuries

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ago; thus a stranger is every where coming in contact with an *Obadiah*, an *Ebenezer*, a *Nathan*, a *Jonathan*, an *Ezekiel*, a *Margery*, a *Deborah*, a *Susannah*, a *Dorothy*, &c. Of late years, however, the rage for fine poetical names has found its way among the Americans, as it has with us; and the formal Gothic appellations of their ancestors are gradually falling into disrepute. The revolutionary war has also had as much influence upon the names, as upon the manners of the people; and the catalogues of *Grecian* and *Roman* heroes have been ransacked to find an appropriate title for the young Hesperian. Even a great portion of their lands have been honoured with the names of *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Plato*, *Cato*, *Cincinnatus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Pompey*, *Pliny*, *Livy*, *Sallust*, &c. The young ladies now receive their names mostly from novels and romances; and *Laura Marias*, *Anna Marias*, *Adelaides*, *Emilies*, &c. have jumped over the heads of the poor neglected *Barbaras*, *Deborahs*, *Mollies*, *Betties*, and *Pollies*. In one of the New York papers of April, 1800, the following marriage was announced; it will serve to shew that a multiplicity of *poetico-novel* names are not confined to the fashionables of Europe: "Married at Washington, Virginia, Mr. George Hudson, to Miss *Seraphina-Maria-Carolina-Matilda-Juliana Sophia-Ann* Mansfield!"

We arrived at Middlebury to dinner. This

town is situated in the vicinity of a waterfall, on which are erected several saw-mills, where much timber is sawed into planks for the use of the interior. There are two meeting-houses in Middlebury; one of them with a spire is the handsomest in Vermont; it was not quite finished building. There is also a college, or rather grammar school, for the use of the surrounding country.

From Middlebury we proceeded along an indifferent road, and thinly settled country, to Vergennes, which is dignified with the title of city, though inferior in size and population to several other towns in the state. It is situated near a fall, upon which saw-mills, flour-mills, and manufactories for wool-cards are erected. It has a court-house, and two or three places of worship, and was settled about 1770.

We set out from Vergennes the next morning at three o'clock, for Burlington, a distance of only twenty-two miles; yet the road was so very rough, that we did not arrive in that town till noon. The country in several places was tolerably well settled and cultivated, but for the most part, the road lay through woods, where it required all the skill and dexterity of the driver to avoid deep ruts, huge stones, logs of wood, felled timber, and stumps of trees. The road was very narrow, and these obstructions continually obliged us to run in a serpentine direction. Fortunately

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our driver on this road, had acquired, from constant practice, considerable dexterity; and he drove us through the narrow windings of the forest, in a style that would not have disgraced any of our *fashionable* "mail-coachmen."

A few miles before we arrived at Burlington, we passed a respectable brick house, and well cultivated farm by the road-side. Our driver informed us that they belonged to Mr. R——, a remarkable character, who, notwithstanding he is a man of great property, yet has such a propensity for *thieving* that he can never see a thing without endeavouring to purloin it. He was detected, but a short time back, in driving to his own field a yoke of oxen, the property of a neighbouring farmer, for which prank he had to pay one or two thousand dollars, to escape punishment; and since then, a cobbler surprized him in the act of pilfering his *awl and wax end*! Thus, even the most insignificant articles cannot escape his fingers. From the propensity which he evinces to *thieve* on all occasions, that vice seems to be congenial with his nature; and is as completely a disease of the mind as insanity. The petty thefts which he has committed, are innumerable; but the sums that he has paid to escape punishment, or as fines for his offences, are, I am told, of greater amount than the articles he has stolen. He is considered a wealthy farmer; and the house in which he lives, being su-

perior to the generality of buildings along that road, it serves to make his singular character publicly known; for the waggoners, and stage coachmen never pass it without acquainting travellers with the strange propensity of its owner. Soon after we passed the house, he was pointed out to me, on horseback, talking to a countryman. He appeared to be between forty and fifty years of age. His countenance did not seem to indicate dishonesty; but I do not profess to have the penetration of Lavater. He is, in consequence of his vicious conduct, deprived of his right of voting at elections; and is generally shunned throughout the county in which he resides.

We got into Burlington about noon. This town is 210 miles from Boston, and is built on a sandy height, or bluff, rising gradually at the extremity of a very fine bay, on Lake Champlain. Five and twenty years ago, the place was covered with firs and pine trees; only one miserable log-hut stood in the midst of the forest, upon the site of this now flourishing town. The principal houses are of red brick, and form a spacious square, consisting of private houses, shops, taverns, a printing-office, and court-house. The ground floor of the latter building, also serves for a place of worship; and an upper apartment for a Free-Mason's lodge! The best college in Vermont, is in the vicinity of this town, and contains about

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seventy students. The number of inhabitants in Burlington is computed at 2,500. A new street is in contemplation, to communicate from the college to the town, to open into the square : at present, the individuals, who possess a part of the land required for this improvement, oppose the measure, and obstruct the wishes of the inhabitants.

Burlington is of growing importance, in consequence of the lucrative trade with Canada, and its excellent situation for that purpose, being scarcely seventy miles from St. John's. Sloops of 100 and 150 tons can navigate the lake with ease ; and a free communication was constantly kept up between Burlington and St. John's previous to the embargo. The vessels were all American, so that a double advantage was derived from the trade with Canada. The inhabitants, therefore, justly deprecate a war with England ; which, as they declared in their memorial for a repeal of the embargo, as it related to them, " would make them poor indeed."

I expected to have found a sloop at this place, that would at least have carried me to the boundary line ; but the supplementary act, had so completely cut off all communication between the two countries by water, that on my arrival there was neither sloop nor boat in the harbour. After dinner, I went down to the water-side to learn if it were possible to procure a canoe to

take me to the Line, and as I was walking along the beach, who should I meet but *David* the mate of the sloop which had taken us from St. John's to Skenesborough, six months before. David was glad to meet me, and we shook hands cordially together. I asked him how Robert and he got off with the old Dolphin, after we left them, "The ice broke up," said David, "a few days after our arrival, and we got the sloop up to the town, where we took out the potash and butter: but she was such an *awful* crazy hulk, that Robert and I did not like to trust ourselves in her a second time, especially in such an *awful* season of the year; so we left her to rot at Skenesborough, and returned home by land." "You have, no doubt," said I, "cleared a few dollars by the speculation." "Rot the old Dolphin," returned David, "we have lost a *nation* sight of money by her." David would willingly have taken me to the Line in a canoe, but he could not procure one any where. I therefore returned to the tavern, and took a place in the *stage waggon*, that was going with the British mail to Swanton Falls, about fifty miles from Burlington. At that place the mail is delivered to the Canadian courier, who comes from St. John's part of the way in a canoe, and the rest on foot or horseback, as the path through the woods permit.

The communication between Canada and the United States, on the Vermont side of the lake,

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is yet very difficult. No regular road has been opened, capable of admitting waggons or carts of any description. A few solitary settlers only, have scattered their loghuts in different parts of the forest bordering on the line; but that part of the country is still a dreary and uncomfortable wilderness.

The stage, when I travelled, proceeded no farther than Burlington: since then a new one has been built, which carries the mail and passengers upwards of 40 miles beyond that town. I was, therefore, under the necessity of seating myself once more in a stage waggon, of the same kind as that in which I travelled from Skenesborough to Troy. It was a mere cart, with four wheels, containing a couple of chairs for the accommodation of passengers; and unfortunately there happened to be three besides myself. Two of them were females, viz. the old lady who had *dry-smoked* me all the way from Rutland, and the lady of a Col. Sawyer, who keeps a tavern at Milford about sixteen miles from Burlington: the other passenger was an old Scotchman, a mason by trade, who had formerly been in the British army during the American war, and had remained in the country.

The day was uncommonly hot, and having nothing to shade me from the sun, I was half roasted, and covered with dust: added to which,

I had a most uncomfortable seat in the hind part of the waggon upon the mail bag, and other goods. I might, indeed, have sat in front along with the driver, but my legs would have been cramped between a large chest, and the fore part of the waggon. Of two evils, I chose the least: but I shall never forget the shaking, jolting, jumbling, and tossing, which I experienced over this disagreeable road, up and down steep hills, which obliged us to alight, (for we had only two poor jaded horses to drag us) and fag through the sand and dust, exposed to a burning sun. When we got into our delectable vehicle again, our situation was just as bad; for the road in many parts was continually obstructed by large stones; stumps of trees, and fallen timber; deep ruts and holes, over which, to use an American phrase, we were *waggon'd* most unmercifully. And even now, while I am writing upon the subject I almost fancy,

———— “ That every bone is aching
After the shaking
I had that day over ruts, and ridges,
And bridges,
Made of a few uneasy planks.”

In the early part of the afternoon, the sun shone full upon us; but as it declined, the trees in the forest intercepted its scorching rays, and relieved me from a violent head-ache, occa-

sioned by the sun, and my wearing a *black* hat. Light beaver, or straw hats are the most proper for an American spring and summer. Black attracts the heat more powerfully, and retains it for a longer time.

We were often obliged to pass over bridges actually condemned by the select men at different places, who had put up notices, that they would not be answerable for the necks of those who were hardy enough to venture across: yet these sapient folks had not provided any other route for travellers. This was absolutely the case about a mile or two beyond Burlington. The usual bridge over Onion river, had been carried away by the ice, and there was no other way of crossing but by an old bridge, condemned several years ago, which stood over a precipice seventy feet deep. It was upwards of four weeks since the other had been destroyed, yet so tardy were the inhabitants even though their own safety was in question, that no preparations had been made for rebuilding it.

We got out, when we came up with it, and sent the waggon over before us; it even shook with the weight of a single person, and whoever is on it when it falls, must inevitably be dashed to pieces. Many bridges that we passed over, in several other parts of Vermont, were in the same dilapidated state: their very planks started

up in our faces, as if to reproach us with treading on them.

The bad roads and bridges in these parts, I am told, would soon be repaired, if the republican or democratic party did not oppose the turnpike system, which is certainly the only method of remedying the grievance at present so much complained of. It is astonishing, also, that with the example of the neighbouring states before them, they still continue so blind to the advantages that are to be derived to their state, from facility of communication with distant parts. But like their brother legislators in Georgia, *economy is their foible*. They conceive that the *sovereign people* ought not to be taxed, even for their own benefit. They would rather that his *hydra-headed* majesty, should break one of his many necks, than that they should lose their popularity as *economists*.

Slept this night at Milton, fourteen miles from Burlington. The inn is kept by Colonel Sawyer, who came up, and handed his wife out of our *elegant* carriage. The Colonel is a disciple of Washington, and belonged to the continental army, which was composed of the best troops that the states possessed during the war. He had his certificate from the society of the Cincinnati hanging up in his room, framed and glazed. It was signed by Washington, and I

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looked at the hand-writing of that great and excellent man with as much interest as I would have viewed the most precious relic. The Colonel is a pleasant sensible man, has a large family, and lives happy and contented, though born to better prospects, than the keeper of a tavern. But losses have obliged him to move in his present humble sphere. One of his sons was at Burlington college, finishing his education; and two fine boys, whom he had at home, he also intended to send there, if his circumstances permitted. The village of Milton consists only of the inn, and a few straggling farms.

Early the next morning we departed from thence, and were somewhat lighter than the preceding day; but our cattle were so miserably poor, that it was with difficulty we could get along. My old *smoking* fellow-traveller, was more loquacious this day, than usual, and the conversation being upon religion, I found she was a staunch Universalist.

Along this road there was little to see but thick woods, or half cleared grounds. The country became more level, but the road improved very little. We passed through the town of Georgia, which is, however, nothing more than a village consisting of straggling houses. It contains a very good meeting-house, with a spire, resembling those which I have before mentioned. It was erected by an English builder

who is settled among them, and become one of their captains of militia.

The Baptists and Congregationalists are at loggerheads about the right of possessing this meeting-house. Both parties joined in the expense of building it, and agreed that their respective ministers should preach to the whole congregation, alternately every Sunday. Matters had not long gone on in this friendly manner, when it was found that the Baptists wished to convert the Congregationalists to their faith, and to remove the minister of the latter from his office, by establishing their own as constant preacher. This encroachment was spiritedly resisted by the Congregationalists, who being the strongest party, were determined not to submit. Upon this, the Baptists and their minister left the meeting, and wrote to the constituted authorities to settle the dispute, by compelling the Congregationalists to give their place of worship up to them. Their differences were not yet settled; but it was generally thought that the Congregationalists, being the most numerous, would obtain a victory over their opponents. Georgia is, therefore, likely to follow the example of Marlborough in Massachusetts, and erect *two* meeting-houses instead of *one*.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at St. Alban's, thirty-five miles from Burlington. It contains several houses, mostly stores,

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taverns, and lawyers' offices. The smallest town or village is never without the *latter*. A newspaper called the "St. Alban's Adviser," is printed here once a week, and serves to illuminate the minds of the people throughout this part of the country, who would otherwise remain in complete ignorance of the affairs of their own country and the world, secluded as they are in miserable log huts, and environed by forests of lofty pines.

The mail was going on to Swanton Falls, and I might have continued my journey with it, and travelled with the Canadian courier to St. John's; but having two heavy portmanteaus, I thought they would be an incumbrance to me if obliged (as I was told) to walk for several miles through a narrow path in the woods, before the courier crossed the lake in his canoe; neither did I understand that I could get any person to carry them that distance. I therefore paid my fare to the waggoner and took leave of the old lady and the Scotchman. The latter shook me by the hand in a hearty manner, wishing me health and success, being, he said, always happy when he fell in with an Englishman, as it reminded him of his dear native land, to which he was still attached. I believe the Scotch people, of all men in the world, are the last that lose their predilection for their native country, and for this reason they are the best colonists that Great Britain can have. The Americans are *fond* of the Irish;

partial to the English ; but *hate* the Scotch. This I am told, arises from the recollection that the oppression which they experienced previous to, and during the revolutionary war, was occasioned by what they term the "*Bute Junto*." The South Britons, they say, would have listened to their complaints, averted the horrors of war, and saved America, had they not been governed by the Scotch. This is at the best but problematical, and the independence of the United States has perhaps arisen more out of that state of things which occasions nations and empires to rise and fall, flourish and decay, than solely to any particular event, or the actions of any particular set of men ; they may lend their influence to the accomplishment of certain ends, but amidst the discordant and jarring interests of millions, they are but as drops of water in the ocean.

St. Alban's bay is about three miles from the town ; and having parted from my fellow travellers, I procured another waggon to convey me and my baggage hither. The road was bad and I was shook unmercifully ; the country hereabout was more cleared, though apparently but indifferently cultivated, for the soil in many places was rocky and unfruitful. Arrived at the bay, I put up at a small house, which can hardly be called a tavern : it is, however, open for the accommodation of strangers, who have occasion to pass that way. I had intended to have crossed the lake immediately, but the wind blew so vio-

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lent, that the ferryman could not venture even to the opposite side of the bay. His canoe indeed was a miserable and dangerous mode of conveyance, even in the finest weather, for it would scarcely hold two persons, and was in a shattered condition. Having, therefore, made up my mind to spend the remainder of the day at St. Alban's bay, I went into the house and ordered dinner. Two strapping wenches were at the loom in one of the apartments, a shoemaker was stitching away in another, and the old landlady of the house was making beer in a large boiler over the kitchen fire : she however left her work immediately to prepare my dinner. The beer was made with pumpkin peel, pieces of bread, and malt boiled down ; it was for the use of the house, but I preferred water to their beer. After dinner I strolled along the road, but neither the weather nor the country had sufficient charms to invite me far from the bay. A few farm-houses were scattered here and there, upon the cleared grounds, and a pot-ash manufactory was situated just opposite the tavern. I soon returned home, took a book out of my portmanteau, and amused myself with reading till I retired to rest.

The next morning I was up early, in the hope that the wind had abated sufficiently to allow me to cross the lake ; but, unfortunately, the gale was as violent as ever, and I was doomed to pass another day in this melancholy place ; at least it

was so to me, who was anxious to reach Canada ; and I could not help repining at the *embargo* which prevented my sailing from Burlington, and the *weather*, which prevented my leaving St. Alban's. But disappointments are more or less the lot of all travellers, and I tried to reconcile myself to that which I could not avoid.

The following morning, Friday, 6th of May, the wind having abated, I crossed over to the first ferry in the small skiff, which, by the time we landed, was half full of water, though we had only three quarters of a mile to go. This was not a regular ferry, being merely temporary, on account of the rising of the lake waters, which overflow the road round the bay, almost every spring, when the ice and snow melts. On my arrival at the other ferry-house, the man ordered two of his sons to get the boat ready immediately, and in the mean time invited me to take some refreshment before my departure, as he said we should have a long row of more than twenty miles to Chazy, a small village situated about six miles up a river of the same name, and within four miles of the boundary line. It happened that I had had no breakfast ; for being anxious to proceed immediately, I would not wait till it was got ready at the tavern. His invitation was therefore very agreeable, and I sat down to a large tureen of milk ; his wife soon baked a *johnny-cake*

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of Indian meal and rye, at the fire, and I made an excellent breakfast.

There were two young French Canadians who were also waiting for a passage across the lake : they had been engaged by an American farmer at Montpelier in Vermont, to assist him for a few months ; but instead of paying them their wages in hard dollars, he gave one an old pair of boots, and the other an old coat, which he considered equivalent to their labour. He gave them only half a dollar to carry them back to Canada, a distance of sixty or seventy miles ; and if they had not met with people along the road, of a more generous turn than their master, they would have fared miserably. The ferryman had entertained them free of cost for two days, and they now helped his sons to row the boat ; as we were going down to the water-side, we were joined by another man, who wished to go across the lake ; the boat was flat bottomed, and sufficiently large for our accommodation, we had four stout rowers, and in the course of an hour we reached the narrow part of Grande Isle, or the North Hero, as it is called by the Americans. This island is about twenty miles in length, and to go round the end of it, in crossing to the opposite of the lake would be tedious work. The ferry-boats are therefore hauled over the narrow part of the isle, which is not more than fifty

feet wide, and launched on the opposite side. Having treated our rowers with some brandy and a crust of bread and cheese, we started for Chazy river; this was the longest row, it being ten miles to the entrance, and six miles up the river to the village. The day was fine, and rendered our excursion on the lake extremely agreeable: islands, covered with trees, and distant mountains on the continent, varied the scene, and relieved the monotonous appearance of the large sheet of water upon which we glided along.

At four in the afternoon we arrived at Chazy, and put up at Judge Hicks's tavern. Chazy is a small village, and contains little more than a dozen straggling houses, yet it has the honor to have two judges for its inhabitants; one is of a superior rank, and resides in a handsome private house; the other, Judge Hicks, is a tavern-keeper, and also a custom-house officer; he was then at the head of a party of militia on the line, enforcing the embargo laws.

At the house of this gentleman I had the honor to reside, till I could procure a waggon to carry me to La Prairie, in Canada, a distance of forty miles.

There happened to be a drunken waggoner at the tavern when I arrived, he was bargaining with a man to fetch a quantity of goods from La Prairie, and no sooner heard that I was bound thither,

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than he proposed to take me for five dollars. It was his own proposition, and waggoners I know, have in general but little conscience, so that I felt but little repugnance at offering to go with him for a dollar less ; he stood out for some time, but it was at length agreed to split the difference, and he was to take me for four dollars and a half, at noon the next day ; he could not, he said, get ready before then, as his waggon was repairing. Upon this, the bargain was concluded, and he promised faithfully, even on his *honor*, to be with me at the appointed time. I, however, placed little reliance upon the *honor* of a drunken American waggoner, and in my mind was determined, if any other offer presented itself in the mean time, to accept it.

I therefore went to dinner, leaving the waggoner bargaining with the other man for the carriage of a load of goods from La Prairie.

The next morning, after breakfast, I took a walk through the village, and visited three or four pot-ash manufactories. Pot and pearl-ash have now become of great importance in Europe, and are used for a variety of purposes, particularly in chemistry, soap manufacture, dyeing, &c. The new settlements in America are much benefited by the great demands for these articles, and the clearing of lands thus becomes a profitable concern. The process for making pot-ash is as fol-

lows :—The trees are cut down and burnt, after which the ashes are mixed with lime, and put into several large vats, which stand in rows upon a platform ; water is then pumped into them, and after filtering through the lime and ashes, dribbles out of a spicket into a long trough that is placed in front of the vats for that purpose. The water thus drained, becomes a strong lye of a dark brown colour, though it gives the buckets, which are continually dipped into it, a *yellow tinge*. The lye is then put into large iron boilers, or as they are more generally called, *potash kettles*. Large fires are made underneath, and the lye is kept boiling for many hours, till it approaches a fine claret colour ; after which it is taken out, left to cool, and becomes a solid body, like grey stone, and is called *potash*. The manufacture of pearl-ashes differs but little from the other, but these are manufactured with more care, and are afterwards calcined in an oven.

1,000 lbs. of oak ashes	will make	111 lbs. pot-ash
1,000 do. of hickory . . .		180 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of beech . . .		219 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of elm . . .		166 lbs. do.
1,000 do. of maple . . .		110 lbs. do.

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product. Labour is well paid with 700 lbs. of potash from 400 bushels of ashes. The harder and better woods afford the most alkali.

It was two in the afternoon before the waggoner, who lived about three miles off, arrived at the tavern to take me to La Prairie. I had given him up, and was agreeably surprized to find that he had not forfeited his *honor*, particularly when he told me that the man with whom he was bargaining yesterday to fetch goods from La Prairie had failed in his promises, and that if he had known that he should not have had the job, he certainly would not have gone with me alone, no not for double the money; but he had pledged his *honor* he said, and though he might be groggy at the time, yet he was determined not to disappoint me by breaking his engagement. He would have been at the tavern exactly at the hour he promised had his waggon been mended in time.

Just before we started from Chazy, Judge Hicks and a party of militia returned from the line. The Judge had scarce entered his tavern, when he was attacked by two or three traders about the embargo, they rallied him for forcing the law so strictly; what need had he to push himself so forward, and call out the militia. The Judge said he only did his duty as a custom-

house officer, but the others swore it was his democratic principles that made him so zealous in favour of Jefferson's embargo. The Judge would have been severely roasted by the anti-embargoists if he had not left them to examine my portmanteaux, just as the driver was putting them into the waggon; he suspected I might have specie, and lifted them up by the straps: one happening to have books in it, was very heavy, but when I offered to open it, the Judge very politely declined looking into it, being satisfied with my assertion that it contained nothing more than books. The Judge possibly recollected himself, and doubtless thought if he pried too closely into the baggage of his customer, his tavern would soon be deserted; he therefore suffered private interest to get the better of public spirit.

At three in the afternoon, we departed from Chazy; the weather was indifferent, and the road lay through thick gloomy woods. About four miles from the village we passed the boundary line, and entered the province of Lower Canada.

After passing a few log huts, over a tolerable good road for about two or three miles, we entered again into the forest, where we had to plough through one of the most infernal roads I ever met with. Sometimes the horses and

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waggon sunk down into deep sloughs, and scarce was the waggon dragged out with the utmost difficulty, when it was jolted over large rock-stones, stumps of trees, huge pines which had been blown down in a gale of wind, and large trunks of trees with which the swampy parts of the road had been filled up. For upwards of ten miles did the poor horses toil and tug through this infamous road, jolting, tossing, and tumbling the waggoner and myself in every direction ; it was with difficulty we could keep our seats, and the planks at the bottom of the waggon were every moment starting out of their places. At one time I expected the waggoner would have given up the journey, and left me to proceed on foot ; for he declared that on his return he should have to spend the whole of the money he was to receive for my passage, to repair his waggon. At length, towards the evening the road became rather better, and about eight o'clock we arrived at a solitary tavern in the woods, kept by a man of the name of Odell. This man has a brother living a few miles off possessed of considerable property, and I believe owns the township on the border of the line, which bears his name. Odell's tavern was a mere log hut, but the apartments and furniture were clean and in better condition than could be expected in such a wilderness ; a very fine girl made tea for

us, and though the habitation was miserable yet its inhabitants appeared as if they had seen better days, which indeed was the case, before the old man became distressed by the extravagance of his sons.

About four o'clock the next morning, Sunday 8th of May, we departed from Odell's tavern. For several miles we travelled through a continued forest, consisting of every variety of trees: vegetation was yet very backward, and there was but little to interest the traveller. I could indeed have slept composedly enough, had not the violent jolting over a bad road, kept me in a perpetual motion. In two or three hours we arrived at L'Acadie, a small French settlement, though of long standing. The land was cleared for several miles round; the fields neatly fenced in, the roads good, and every thing wore the appearance of the old settled parts of Canada. The scene was heightened by our emerging suddenly out of the forest upon this neat settlement; the road now continued very good, and at ten o'clock we arrived at an American tavern, within nine miles of La Prairie; it is situated on the road to St. John's, and was the one at which I breakfasted on my journey to that place the preceding November.

Here the stage from St. John's was expected to arrive every moment, and my waggoner ear-

nestly requested me to take a place in it to La Prairie, as it would save him at least eighteen miles, and perhaps enable him to get back to Chazy that evening. After the civility I had received from the man, and knowing what an infamous road he had to travel over, I readily assented to his proposal; I therefore paid him the four dollars and half, besides defraying his expenses at Odell's tavern, upon which he heartily thanked me, and was so well satisfied, that he begged I would favour him with my name.

At breakfast I was attended by the landlord's handsome daughter whom I had before mentioned, she was as fair as the rest of her countrywomen in the states, but possessed a finer colour, to which the sharp northern air of Canada is more congenial than the warmer climate of the southward. The stage soon arrived, and luckily for my waggoner there was just room for one person. I got into the stage, and in the course of a couple of hours arrived at La Prairie de la Madelaine.

The wind blowing very hard down the river St. Lawrence, Mr. Linger, a collector of the customs at St. John's, and myself were prevented from crossing over to Montreal. We therefore dined at Cheeseman's tavern; after which, the wind abating a little, we embarked in a canoe at Longuiel, and passed through the rapids

above the islands, which owing to the high wind were violently agitated : it was a dangerous excursion, and I was completely wet through when I landed at Montreal. I immediately proceeded once more to Dillon's hotel after an interval of six months.

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